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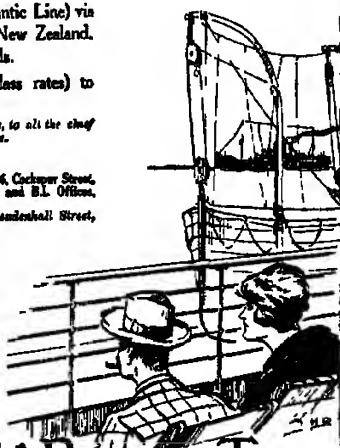
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# THE ASIATIC REVIEW

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## MESOPOTAMIA: THE PARTING OF THE WAYS

BY SIR ARNOLD T. WILSON,

K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G.

*(Formerly Acting Civilian Commissioner in Mesopotamia)*

For the past two years we have been accustomed to read in daily newspapers "powerful articles" calling upon us to drive from office a Government which, amongst other things, insists on remaining in Mesopotamia.

The writers of these articles, discordantly, but with an insistence and with a wealth of captions which obscure rather than reveal to the public the true issues, assert, amongst other things :

1. That we cannot afford to bear the financial burden involved by the Mandate, amounting to eight million sterling annually, with a prospect of reduction to, say, four millions.
2. That we cannot afford in any case to bear the cost of future military and other expenditure in which we shall be involved if we accept the Mandate.
3. That the people of Mesopotamia do not want us, that this fact exonerates us from the charge of breaking faith with them, as any agreements which we may have concluded during or since 1915 were in substance, if not in form, bi-lateral, and implied the active consent and co-operation of the inhabitants of the countries whose future was at issue.
4. That we should therefore abandon all interest in, or responsibility for, the internal affairs of Mesopotamia and



Arabia, and *a fortiori* of Turkey in Asia, and permit the various races concerned to work out their own salvation, even though this should involve prolonged anarchy, such as they have not known for the past three centuries.

5. That His Majesty's Government were, and are still, influenced in their policy in the Middle East by the existence of oil deposits near Mosul, of unknown extent and value.

Now, no one who has personal knowledge of the trend of the Middle Eastern policy of the Allies since 1915 will be disposed to deny that errors of policy, of direction, and of execution have been committed at Headquarters in Whitehall and in the Quai d'Orsay, and on the spot in Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, and Arabia during the past seven years.

Students of our Middle Eastern policies may well doubt, in the light of actual happenings, whether the "men on the spot" were better qualified to forecast the future and to guide British policy than the permanent officials and politicians at home.

But they may also reflect that, wretched as His Majesty's Government is, and always has been, in the eyes of its masters, the British public, an impartial observer would probably agree that it is the most stable and, as regards external affairs, the best organized Government in the world, and realizing, as since the Great War we all do, with what little wisdom the world is governed, they may be disposed to agree with the Duke of Wellington, who wrote from Spain in 1811:

"I acknowledge that I was much concerned to find that persons whose opinions were likely to have great weight in England have delivered erroneous opinions, as I thought, respecting affairs in this country, and I prized their judgments so highly, at the same time that I was certain of the error of the opinion which they had delivered, that I was induced to attribute their conduct to the excess of the spirit of the Party."

But politicians and business-men, who jointly carry on

their shoulders the heavy responsibility of deciding in what channels abroad the nation's commercial activities can most wisely be directed, in order that our export trade—without which we must perish—may again be restored to its former volume, recognize that an unwise restriction of our liabilities abroad may be as calamitous in its results to British commerce as would be a decision on the part of a progressive wholesale export firm to close all foreign agencies which did not show an immediate cash profit.

The question at issue is, it is submitted, not whether we can afford to stay in Mesopotamia, but whether we can afford to go. What would be involved as far as can be seen by our departure from the Iraq? This has not, as far as I know, been publicly discussed by any of the advocates of immediate evacuation.

It is not probable that the present Arab Government, consisting of King Faisal and a Grand Council, would long survive the withdrawal of British assistance; and it is improbable that it would be succeeded by a stable central Government at Baghdad. At first a number of unstable organizations would be evolved, with centres perhaps at Basrah, Baghdad, and Mosul, with varying boundaries, and mutually hostile, but not really under the control of any single chief or organized council. Like Ishmael, his prototype, the desert Arab would remain as always with his hand against every man; the Kurds would obey none and plunder all.

Commerce, the life-blood of the East not less than of the West, would languish still further; and the people who within ten years have spurned the Turks and acclaimed the English, whom in turn they have been induced by a political gang to spurn in favour of an Arab Government, of whom it seems they are now tiring, would demand, in the absence of any practicable alternative, the return of the Turks.

And the Turks would return, for they have a traditional ability to rule alien races of their own faith, which is

excelled, and has indeed been attempted, by no other race; and though their methods are the antithesis of all that we hold right, they continued until 1914 to hold together an Asiatic Empire second in size only to that of Great Britain, in face of the organized competition and the vast resources of all the Great Powers, with only occasional secessions, such as Cyprus, Egypt, and Tripoli, and continued to govern with the consent of the majority of their subjects, where these were Muhammadans.

Is there any practicable alternative to their return? It is conceivable, of course, that were His Majesty King Faisal forced by sickness or by his own inclinations to abandon the rôle which has been imposed on him (and which he has filled so creditably), that Mesopotamia could for some years be governed by a High Commissioner with the assistance of a Grand Council. This solution, which was favoured soon after the Armistice by large sections of responsible Arab opinion in Mesopotamia, was then regarded by His Majesty's Government as being inconsistent with the terms of the Mandate; and it was, moreover, rejected in 1920 by the politically-minded classes in the large towns—Basrah always excepted—as involving a degree of foreign control which was inconsistent with the due attainment of Arab aims.

It might have acted for a limited period of years had it been adopted in 1919. It would not succeed now; we cannot retrace our steps. In any case, it would require more troops than this country is able or willing to supply. Another member of the Sharifian dynasty might possibly accept office, and would doubtless be asked to do so by His Majesty's Government; but it is unlikely that he would for long endure the climatic severities and cultural peculiarities of Baghdad, which are dissimilar to those of Syria or the Hejaz; and unless His Majesty's Government are prepared to administer the country directly, as they did for a period before and after the Armistice, they must, I think, be prepared to see the Turks return.

What would be the effect of their return? Mesopotamia is a country of minorities. There are more Jews in Baghdad than in the whole of Palestine. There are more Christians in Baghdad and Mosul than in Syria; and the French Government, which has so long interested itself in the welfare of Christian communities in Turkey (other than Greeks), would scarcely be entirely indifferent to their fate, whilst it can scarcely be supposed that they will prosper in the event of the return of the Turk triumphant from the defeat of Christian powers on the Mediterranean coast of Turkey in Asia. The return of the Turk to Mesopotamia would probably synchronize roughly with his return to Syria, in which case the abandonment of the Mandate of Palestine would only be a matter of time, and the position of Great Britain on the Suez Canal gravely imperilled. This is no mere flight of fancy; it is the universal testimony of experienced travellers in Trans-Jordania and Palestine during the past few months that public opinion in both areas, but especially the former, is deeply moved by the grant of the Rutenberg Concession, which covers parts of Trans-Jordania as well as of Palestine, and by misapprehensions as to the extent of the Mandate. Bloodshed seems inevitable if any attempt is made to give effect to the schemes of Mr. Rutenberg so far as they affect Trans-Jordania.

Nor is the position in Central Arabia more promising. The abandonment in Mesopotamia of the Mandate by Great Britain would be the signal for further acts of aggression on the part of the Wahabis against the Euphrates' towns, which are defenceless against an invasion from the desert. So long as we have a force at Baghdad, Najaf, and Karbala, they will not be seriously attacked.

The Arab Government cannot defend them. A Turkish Government could and would, for though there is little love lost between Sunni and Shiah, sectarian leaders in these towns have not failed in recent years to keep in touch with the Turks, although during the War they took a leading

part in inciting the Arabs to eject all Turkish officials from the Euphrates region.

What would be the effect of the return of the Turk on British interests? That is the question we may fairly ask ourselves even in these days of altruism in high places, for self-interest on the broadest lines must still remain the only safe guide in international affairs. We may reasonably claim that we know what is good for ourselves, but we are on less safe ground when we attempt to regulate our conduct by what we believe to be good for others. Existing British commercial interests in the strictest and most limited sense would not, I believe, in the long run seriously suffer. British traders have learnt during the past two or three centuries how to conduct their business all over the world without Government support, and have relied upon the honesty of their methods and the independence of the political aims of their own Government to gain the confidence of the rulers of countries in which they work, and have not been unsuccessful. To quote the representative of the Honourable East India Company at Basrah, writing in the early part of the seventeenth century "to his loving friends" at Bombay (I quote from memory): "As for the Turks, wretches though they be, good policy demands that we maintain an appearance of friendship with them, and as we are, so we hope to continue."

But whilst "British trade," in the narrowest sense of the term, would continue whatever form of Government existed in Mesopotamia, provided it was reasonably stable, so long as we have goods to sell and can sell them as cheap, or cheaper, than other nations, the greater work of developing the natural resources of the Iraq would come to a standstill immediately we abandoned our political responsibilities there. And it is in work of this kind that the West can do most to help the East: our title to advise and guide Eastern races in matters scientific is not yet disputed. Western political and economic theory is discredited, but Western science is in high esteem. It is universally agreed

that the political progress of the country is limited, amongst other things, by the educational standard of the people at large, which cannot be raised except, *pari passu*, with the standard of living; and there is good reason to think that, unless the latent resources of the country are developed, no great change can take place in the standard of living nor in the total population, which now stands at the low figure of two and three-quarter millions, less than twenty to the square mile.

These latent resources are mainly agricultural, and can be developed by local enterprise, aided by foreign capital, foreign machinery, and foreign scientists. At the International Cotton Congress at Stockholm, three months ago, a speaker claimed that Iraq could produce a million bales of cotton of long staple, equal to best Egyptian, annually, under a proper system of irrigation. There is every reason to think that this is not an exaggerated estimate, and the world needs cotton.

Other staples, such as dates, wheat, barley, skins, wool, etc., can be produced in far larger quantities and of better quality than at present, if science be brought to the aid of the tiller of the soil, as it is beginning to be under the present regime by an Agricultural Department staffed by wise and patient enthusiasts. Oil there is in unknown quantity and of unknown quality, some 300 miles from the sea, but it will be years before it will be a source of profit to anyone owing to difficulties of exploitation, for, as far ahead as it is possible to look, agriculture must be the main source of wealth, and irrigation the principal instrument of the agriculturist; thus alone can the barren wastes of Mesopotamia, which obsess our publicists, in their Fleet Street offices, as grievously as they obsessed our soldiers in 1916, be made to support life and an organized Government.

But "British interests" and "British commercial interests" are not synonymous terms, though the former includes the latter. His Majesty's Government have to

consider the effect of their policy upon other nations, signatories to the Treaty of Versailles and to the unratified Treaty of Sèvres. To abandon our Mandate in Mesopotamia will mean that the French must abandon theirs in Syria. It will probably mean the disappearance of the kingdom of the Hejaz. We have in the past prided ourselves—not, perhaps, with very good reason—on having kept our word as a nation, although in international political circles the spirit of compromise and of readiness to bow to force, whether exercised by majorities or minorities, which informs our Press, our Parliament, and our political leaders, has given us the reputation abroad embodied in the phrase "Perfide Albion."

The word "prestige" has been much misused in the past, but it exists nevertheless. Our prestige is the good name and reputation of Great Britain, and, by an association of ideas, of Britons all over the world. It is our greatest asset, the priceless inheritance of every subject of His Majesty King George V. who travels abroad. Let us not lightly endanger it. "A good life hath few days," saith Ecclesiasticus, "but a good name endureth for ever."

It is not within the scope of this paper to discuss the bearing on current events of our past or present actions in Mesopotamia, nor is it intended to discuss possible alternative forms of government. But on the general question it may be remarked that in the writer's view the real issue under the Mandatory system is the nature of the sovereign powers to be exercised by the ruler in Mandated territory. The fact is that the Treaty of Versailles involves a fresh conception of sovereignty. Either a country must be independent, in which case there is no question of a Mandate, although it may voluntarily accept assistance (*cf.* Persia), or it is not independent, although it may enjoy a high degree of autonomy. The very word sovereignty is in these days somewhat out of date, as it connotes so many grades of autonomy within the British Empire. Under Article 22 of the League of Nations the Mandatory power undertakes

responsibility for the well-being and development of the people in respect of which it accepts a Mandate, and the people in this state are described as under tutelage. This involves the ultimate exercise of authority by the Mandatory Power. The requirements of the Mandatory system are thus inconsistent with the Anglo-French Declaration of November, 1918, and with our previous undertakings to the Arabs, and involve us in diplomatic insincerities which it is not possible for us to explain away. The tribes and cultivators in Mesopotamia are still our friends in that they trust us rather than the rulers of their own race, and desire that we should remain and exercise some degree of supervision over them. A popular poem advocating Arab independence, widely circulated in Baghdad during 1920, contained the remarkable but true statement that the tribes and cultivators loved the British, and if anything was to be done in the way of revolution, it must be done by townspeople who enjoyed a monopoly of proper patriotic spirit.

We have not yet discovered any means of enabling the tribes and cultivators in Mesopotamia to make their voices heard in an orderly manner. The Electoral law which was promised some years ago has not yet seen the light. If a system could be devised which would make it possible for the population outside the towns to exercise that influence in public affairs to which they are entitled by their enormous numerical preponderance and by the great proportion of revenue they contribute, there would be great hopes for the future prosperity of the country; but the sooner the Mandate disappears and is replaced by a treaty assigning for a period of years the relations which are to exist between the British and the people of that country the better it will be for all concerned.

Such a course will involve international difficulties, of course, as we hold our position in Mesopotamia by virtue of the Mandate which we have accepted; but the matter is in reality one of form rather than one of substance, and it should not be impossible to find some such solution.



There is another consideration of a general nature which we should do well to bear in mind. Everywhere in Europe, as pointed out by that excellent periodical the *New Statesman*, and indeed in Asia, we see gangs defying Governments, and Governments apparently incapable of suppressing them. A gang is always the enemy of the State, even if its original object is a perfectly proper one. The Bolsheviks began as a gang, though they at present claim to be a Government. The Facisti in Italy and the adherents of Gandhi in India are gangs, and there are gangs in Mesopotamia; and these gangs, although confessedly a minority, do not shrink from bloodshed or worse in order that their will, rather than the will of the nation, may prevail. The Arab dislikes gangs of idealists as much as he dislikes gangs of criminals, and there is no reason to believe that he will for long tolerate the existence of gangs, whether they pose as rebels or as monarchists, when they begin to interfere with his personal liberty.

To abandon Mesopotamia will be to surrender to a gang, and will make us less able to resist pressure in other parts of the world. We have spent, the papers tell us, 350,000,000 pounds in Mesopotamia. We may not hope to recover a fraction of this sum from the country. It was a part, and a small part, of our contribution to the Great War. We have sown there the seeds of personal liberty and of progress; we have inspired hopes amongst peoples who still look to us, with all our faults, with confidence. Let us not lightly abandon our efforts, nor be too ready to count the cost in terms of money, lest we lose what every businessman knows to be more valuable than money—namely, credit, or, in other words, our good name. As Francis Bacon says in his essay "On Plantations":

"It is the sinfulness thing in the world to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness; for, beside the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable persons."

## THE GREEK DEFEAT AND BRITISH POLICY

BY SIR ABBAS ALI BAIG, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., LL.D.

THE sword of Mustapha Kemal has cut the Gordian knot in Asia Minor, and the splendid opportunity which was within the grasp of British statesmanship of re-establishing friendly relations between Great Britain and Islam has been thrown away. The last effort of Fethy Bey, the Angora representative, to approach Downing Street met with a curt rebuff. Whatever faith Muslim India had in the sincerity of a desire on the part of the British Cabinet to bring about an equitable solution of the complications in the Near East was largely destroyed by the Prime Minister's pro-Greek speech in the House of Commons on August 4. That impolitic utterance showed that the high-sounding British pledges of 1918, which in some measure were embodied in the barren resolutions of the Paris Conference of March last under French persuasion, were not only to remain unbacked by any effective action, but were to be reversed in the direction of further incitements to the Greeks to tighten their grip on Turkish homelands. A little over a week after this fresh provocation to the Ottoman Nationalists the Angora Council of War decided not to delay the offensive, which has swiftly demonstrated to the world that the Prime Minister's glowing picture of Greek prowess, which aspired to the crowning of Constantine in the Mosque of St. Sophia, was delusive. The victories of the Turks, which within a fortnight after the first onslaught on August 26, have either completely shattered or captured the Greek army, except the Third Army Corps, and have swept its remnants out of Asia Minor, fully justify the view of Marshal Foch and Sir Henry Wilson, whose expert advice was set aside by the Supreme Council to gratify the vaulting ambition of M. Venizelos to possess "Naboth's Vineyard" as a step towards the realization of his grandiose scheme

of establishing, with the help of Great Britain, a Greek Empire in the Near East on the ruins of dismembered Turkey. This dream has now vanished, but the spirit of Anglo-Hellenism which produced it is still active, and seems bent upon further undermining the allegiance of the King's 100,000,000 Muslim subjects.

Anglo-Hellenism owes its inspiration to Gladstone's violent hatred of the Turks—nay, of all Muslims—whom he denounced as the followers of "that accursed book." In his perfervid and stirring philippics against the Ottoman nation he conjured up before his enthralled audiences the vision of a "Divine figure" in the North, destined to liberate enslaved humanity in the Near East, little dreaming at the time that within the lifetime of a generation this Russian divinity would assume the repulsive form of the blood-stained red monster of Bolshevism bent upon the destruction of civilization. The flame of racial and religious animosity lit by Gladstone has been fed and kept alive by many eminent followers of that great Englishman. It is fortunate for the cause of international justice and inter-racial amity that the venom of religious hatred has not permeated all sections of English politicians. British public life is still rich in the possession of many far-sighted statesmen, whose vision is not blurred by race prejudice, and whose broad-minded tolerance has helped to strengthen the fabric of an Empire in which the believers in Islam largely outnumber the Christian races. With them they wish to live in friendship and harmony, if the crusading spirit of the West which seeks to restrict their right to independence is diverted into more beneficent channels.

To estimate the effect on Muslim India of the British Cabinet's persistent Philhellenism in the light of the Greek debacle, which places the Turks in a position to reconquer the Ottoman territory in Europe in which there are Muslim majorities under Greek domination, if the Allied Powers maintain a really neutral attitude—in the case of the Greeks in similar circumstances the attitude of the British Cabinet has always been pro-Greek—a cursory survey may be taken of the

outstanding events which have brought about the present situation, with special reference to Mustapha Kemal's attitude.

In spite of the anti-Turk propaganda, Great Britain's relations with the Ottoman Empire continued to be friendly, on the whole, until 1907—British policy being dominated by a distrust of Russian designs in the Near and Middle East, with special reference to India. In that year the Anglo-Russian Alliance brought about a complete reversal of that policy and foreshadowed the absorption of Constantinople by Tsarist Russia and a further dismemberment of Turkey. The Young Turk revolution of 1908, in which Mustapha Kemal participated, was inspired by a patriotic desire to avert this catastrophe, but Russia, backed by the might of England, succeeded in smothering the aspirations of Young Turkey to replace the absolutism of Abdul Hamid by a progressive *Constitutional Government*. The frantic efforts of the Turkish Constitutionalists to prevent autocratic Russia from involving the Ottoman Empire in continuous misfortunes proved unavailing in the face of this powerful Anglo-Russian combination, which has done irreparable harm to British prestige in the East and impaired the good-will of Britain's friends in every Muslim country. The Italian and Balkan Wars accelerated the process of Ottoman disintegration desired and set in motion by Russia. When the Great War broke out, Turkey, to save herself from the Russian menace, was driven into the arms of Germany, though Mustapha Kemal, in view of the overwhelming strength of the Allies, was opposed to the idea of linking the fortunes of the Osmanlis with those of Germany and Austria. He foresaw the probable defeat of the Germans, but as he then held a subordinate position under Enver Pasha, he had to carry out the latter's orders. His differences with Enver did not prevent him from bending all his energies toward the defence of the Dardanelles, and his brilliant success at Anafarta in 1915 marked him out as a capable and resourceful soldier. He was sent to Syria at a time when the Ottoman defence of Palestine had already collapsed.

The events which ensued led to the Mudros Armistice of October 30, 1918, which was scrupulously observed by the Turks until the abortive Treaty of Sèvres was signed on August 10, 1920. This treaty, which is believed to have been the sorry offspring of the collaboration of M. Venizelos with the British Prime Minister, marked what is universally considered in India a barefaced breach of faith. It revealed as in a flash to the astounded world of Islam an unparalleled instance of the power of race antipathy to extinguish all sense of justice and honour. It rekindled the smouldering fire of Muslim exasperation and gave birth in India to the Khilafat movement, which aims at drawing closer the bonds of Islamic unity for self-protection. It became apparent that the menace to the free existence of Muslim nations which the British treaty with Russia had presaged was reborn in the new combinations in Europe among which Anglo-Hellenism took a prominent place.

Kemal realized that the reduction of the Ottoman nation to complete impotence was the aim of the European Powers. He found Constantinople occupied by British, French, and Italian troops. The warships of the Allies were anchored in the Bosphorus to overawe the Ottoman population. The railways in European Turkey and in Asia Minor were held by the French and the English. There was a cordon of iron around the small remnants of Turkish territory—the Turkish ports were under foreign control. The Ottoman Army was demobilized and a garrison of 700 was deemed sufficient for the protection of the capital of an Empire which at one time was the most powerful in Europe. This formidable combination of antagonistic forces stirred Mustapha Kemal's patriotism to a supreme effort to save whatever he could of the Osmanli heritage and national freedom.

He knew that the extinction of the Sultan's authority, who was practically a prisoner in Yildiz Kiosk, offered no scope to his energies in Europe. He therefore turned his eyes to Asia Minor. But his activities there were opposed by Damad Farid, the Ottoman Prime Minister, who under Allied inspira-

tion eventually dismissed him from the Ottoman Army. This release from official fetters gave him a free hand and widened his opportunities of maturing his plans. Henceforth he consecrated his life ceaselessly to the attainment of national independence.

The Greek occupation of Smyrna on May 15, 1919, at the instigation of Great Britain, France and America, was intended to forestall Italy's suspected designs on that ancient port. The Greeks signalized their landing by an unprovoked and cruel massacre of Muslims. Thirty-one Turkish officers were beaten to death on the quays, and inoffensive civilians were bayoneted and their bodies thrown in the sea under the eyes of British naval officers, who were powerless to prevent the slaughter. This blood-curdling incident sent a thrill of horror throughout the homelands of the Turks, and gave a tremendous impetus to the Nationalist movement. Two months after this episode an Ottoman Nationalist Conference met at Erzerum, and at the instance of Kemal it was decided to organize a Nationalist Government at Angora quite independent of the impotent régime at Constantinople, which was dominated by the Allied military authorities.

Mustapha Kemal Pasha's plans met with rapid success. He first directed his energies towards the building up of a solid Nationalist majority in the Constantinople Parliament. But the British military commands stifled this Parliament and deported to Malta Kemal's adherents. The Constantinople Parliament, however, had adopted in January, 1920, the "National Pact" framed by the Angora Assembly as embodying "the limit of sacrifice to which the Ottoman Parliament can consent to go in order to assure itself a just and lasting peace."

The Turkish "National Pact" is of vital importance at the present moment, in the light of the Nationalist victories, as it would largely influence Kemal Pasha's attitude in the settlement of the terms of peace. The provisions of this pact are summarized below in Mustapha Kemal's own words as quoted by the *New York World*:

" I. We abandon claims to territories inhabited by Arab majorities, but consider the rest of Turkey as a political, racial, and religious unit.

" II. We leave the status of Western Thrace to be decided by its own inhabitants, but we do not accept any compromise for Eastern Thrace.

" III. We accept and support the rights of minorities in accordance with the principles decided upon by the Powers in regard to the minorities in the case of newly created States.

" IV. We demand unconditional restoration of Constantinople and the Straits, but give due respect to the rights of the interested Powers in the freedom of the Straits for commerce and communication.

" V. We insist upon the recognition of the political, economic, and judicial independence of Turkey."

These claims, if closely examined in an unbiassed spirit, will be found to be entirely consonant with the principles which the Allied Powers enforce in regard to their own sovereign rights, and which they have accepted in the case of Christian States. But it seems to be tacitly assumed that Turkey must not aspire to independent existence, and that Islam must submissively acquiesce in the isolation and foreign control of the seat of the Khilafat. The Greek pincers in Thrace, backed by the non-foreign force in Gallipoli, must remain ever ready to close round Constantinople, so that the Sultan may remain an absolutely helpless puppet at the mercy of the naval squadron in Turkish waters. It is difficult to imagine a more humiliating and precarious position for the head of any self-respecting people.

Constantine's return to the throne of Greece created a split between British and French solidarity. Though Constantine was intensely disliked by the British nation and the English Cabinet was much chagrined by the fall of Venizelos, the British Foreign Office continued to support the Venizelist policy of self-aggrandizement, which Constantine pushed forward to strengthen his position. But the French recoiled, and in October, 1921, entered into friendly relations with Angora. This unexpected development strengthened the

hands of Mustapha Pasha and eased the French military situation both in Europe and in Asia. Thus, France is now looked upon as the friend of Muslim nations struggling for independence, and Great Britain, which prides herself on being "the greatest Muhammadan Power in the world," has been placed in the invidious position of being regarded in India as "the only enemy" of Mussalman races. This deplorable view of Muslim India may be wrong, but it conveys a warning to British statesmen to reconsider their pro-Greek attitude, which Mr. Montagu has characterized as "calamitous."

The National victory in Asia Minor is being viewed from varying standpoints by Britain, France, and Italy. In England the unexpected success of the Nationalist Army has aroused considerable uneasiness and some apprehension unworthy of a mighty nation whose traditions of liberty and independence are unequalled in history. The French Government has declared its readiness to discuss any suggestions that might lead to a settlement, "provided that the legitimate aspirations and susceptibilities of the Turks were safeguarded." Italy does not wish to hinder "the resurrection of the Muslim power—which served as a point of junction between the Islamic world and Western Europe—within her own proper frontiers." But what about the British Empire, which holds about a third of the total Muhammadan population of the world? What has been the reflex action of the anti-Turk policy in India, Persia, Iraq, Egypt, and Palestine? In what light do the Muslim races in these countries view the British attitude? British statesmen have to consider these questions in a serious and unprejudiced spirit. They have hitherto gravely underestimated the strength of the bonds which unite the Islamic world. Unstatesmanlike efforts to weaken or sever these ties of a common brotherhood have only added to their firmness. If there is any menace to British authority in Muslim lands under the ægis of Great Britain, it is due to a policy of unfulfilled pledges together with the partisanship of non-Muslim races.

Mustapha Kemal in the hour of his victory does not go



beyond the principles embodied in the "National Pact." His statement of the peace terms as reported by Mr. Ward Price, who had an interview with him, includes "every security for the free passage of the Dardanelles." The frontiers he claims cover the regions in which the Turkish race is predominant in population. He asks for Thrace up to the River Maritza and Constantinople, besides Asia Minor, which he has reconquered, and as to which there is no question now. His other terms are of minor importance, and principally affect the security of Constantinople from sudden attack and the reparations to be demanded from Greece.

These terms, which are, in essence, reproduced in the appeal addressed by the Muslim members of the Central Legislature in India through the Viceroy to the British Government, do not prejudicially affect any vital British interest. The only British interest in the Near East is the free passage of the Straits, which is not in danger. The question now is whether the British Government considers the good-will of 70,000,000 Indian Muslims of greater importance in the wider interests of the Empire than their partisanship of the Greeks. The spectacle of India making heavy remittances to Angora to help the Turkish Nationalists to organize and equip their army to foil the schemes of Anglo-Hellenism revealed a dangerous cleft in the fabric of the British Empire. Muslim India, after the victory of Kernul, has once more urged that this cleavage should be repaired. India has been watching with pained surprise and increasing resentment the pro-Greek activities of British Ministers despite the fact that the half-hearted and enforced participation of the Greeks in the War was wholly dominated by their greed to share in the spoils of victory, whereas Turkey could hardly have been defeated, as Mr. Lloyd George has admitted, without the disinterested sacrifices of Indian soldiers.

India is anxiously waiting to see whether the Prime Minister will extricate his Cabinet from the entanglements into which it has been led through the influence of M. Venizelos, the stormy petrel of Near Eastern politics, who is now out again to exploit the Philhellenism of his friends.

The attitude of some British politicians and publicists is not calculated to ease the situation in India or to promote good feeling. It is being urged that the strangle-hold on Constantinople should not be relaxed, so that the heart of the Ottoman Empire may remain paralyzed and isolated from its body in Asia. The policy of France, which is in favour of Turkish "legitimate aspirations," and the Italian view, which does not oppose the "resurrection" of Turkey, have aroused grave

misgivings in England, the principal guardian of Muslim interests. Energetic efforts are being made to bring France and Italy to heel, so that the Allies may present a united front in preventing an Islamic renaissance, which it is feared may be stimulated if Turkey is allowed to raise her head. The conditions of peace are already being prejudged, and the British Navy has received orders to keep the Nationalist Turk out of Europe. Attempts are being made to saddle him with the crime of firing Smyrna, though every Ottoman interest was involved in preserving the famous town, and to excuse the Armenians and the Greeks, who had every motive of revenge to destroy what they were abandoning.

The effect of this attitude on Muslim India can easily be imagined. The ties woven through long years of wise and righteous statesmanship have already been subjected to a severe and continuous strain. Mr. Shinivasa Sastri's view that many among "the Muhammadan population of India were ready to forswear their allegiance to the British Empire" is overcoloured and need not be taken seriously, but it conveys a warning.

It is still in the power of the British Government not to put a further strain on the loyalty of Indian Muslims, and to deal with the new situation created by the Greek collapse in a spirit of fairness unhampered by preconceived notions and past commitments. Great Britain's relations with Islam, in the higher interests of Imperial solidarity and world-peace, ought to be inspired by mutual trustfulness and good-will in view of the wide ramifications of the Anglo-Muslim connection over three continents.

## THE INDIANIZATION OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICES

BY SIR JAMES WILSON, K.C.S.I.

THE preamble of the Government of India Act, 1919, contains the following statements: "It is the declared policy of Parliament to provide for the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the Indian administration, and for the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the Empire. Progress in giving effect to this policy can only be achieved by successive stages, and it is expedient that substantial steps in this direction

should now be taken. The time and manner of each advance can be determined only by Parliament, upon whom responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples. The action of Parliament in such matters must be guided by the co-operation received from those on whom new opportunities of service will be conferred, and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility."

Under Section 36 of the Act the Secretary of State in Council may make rules for regulating the classification of the Civil Services in India, the methods of their recruitment, their conditions of service, pay and allowances, and discipline and conduct, provided that every person appointed before the commencement of the Act by the Secretary of State in Council to the Civil Service of the Crown in India shall retain all his existing or accruing rights, or shall receive such compensation for the loss of any of them as the Secretary of State in Council may consider just and equitable.

The Joint Select Committee of the Houses of Lords and Commons appointed to consider the Government of India Bill said in their Report: "The Committee think that it is of the utmost importance from the very inauguration of these constitutional changes that Parliament should make it quite plain that the responsibility for the successive stages of the development of self-government in India rests on itself, and on itself alone, and that it cannot share this responsibility with, much less delegate it to, the newly-elected legislatures of India. They also desire to emphasize the wisdom and justice of an increasing association of Indians with every branch of the administration, but they wish to make it perfectly clear that His Majesty's Government must remain free to appoint Europeans to those posts for which they are specially required and qualified."

After the passing of the Act, the Secretary of State laid down that the maximum, to be attained probably in 1929, of posts held by the Indian Civil Service to be filled by Indians is 48 per cent., this being an all-round figure intended to cover the total Indian recruitment from all sources, including promotion from the Provincial Service and appointments of practising lawyers in India, and also of candidates selected after a separate competitive examination held in India (the arrangements for which have recently been announced). Somewhat similar percentages have been prescribed for the recruitment in India for the higher posts in the Forest, Educational, Agricultural, Engineering, and Railway Services. In the Police Service the maximum fixed is 33 per cent. Of

the 174 appointments made to the Indian Medical Service since 1915, 101 have been filled by Indians and only 73 by Europeans. The effect of these recent Orders will be that after a few years about half of all the higher posts in these different departments of the Civil Service in India will be held by Indians. Great progress had already been made in associating Indians in every branch of Indian administration, but the transfer of power and responsibility from British to Indian hands has by these Orders been greatly accelerated.

The elected members of the new Indian Legislatures are, however, not satisfied with this liberal application of the policy of Parliament, and the Legislative Assembly, notwithstanding a strong warning given by Sir William Vincent, the Home Member of the Government of India, adopted the following Resolution on February 11, 1922: "This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council that enquiries should, without delay, be inaugurated as to the measures possible to give further effect to the declaration of the 20th August, 1917, in the direction of the increased recruitment of Indians for the all-India Services, and also that steps be taken to provide in India such educational facilities as would enable Indians to enter the technical services in larger numbers than is at present possible." The Secretary of State agreed that Local Governments should be consulted on the issues involved in this recommendation, and requested that ultimately the views of the Government of India should be set out in a reasoned despatch for his consideration. The Government of India accordingly on May 20 last issued a Memorandum to all Local Governments asking for their opinions on this question, which they recognized as being of fundamental importance to the future welfare of India. In that Memorandum they summarize with an attempt at impartiality the arguments for and against radically modifying the existing policy, and conclude by inviting the opinion of Local Governments on the following among other questions: "Should the recruitment of Europeans for the appointments now included in the all-India Services be discontinued or largely reduced? If so, in what Services and to what extent in each Service?"

The Government of India were not bound to take action on the Assembly's recommendation, and appear to have committed a serious error of statesmanship by issuing such a Memorandum, even with the approval of the Secretary of State. It has naturally given rise to a feeling of consternation among all the European members of the Civil Services in India, already greatly disheartened by the effects of the recent course of events on their position and prospects, and has fur-

ther discouraged possible recruits to those Services from this country. The difficulty of obtaining suitable British recruits is already very great. Out of the 86 candidates for last year's Indian Civil Service examination, only 26 were British, and of these only 3 were successful, as compared with 13 Indians. The supply of qualified British doctors for the Indian Medical Service has practically ceased, and similar difficulty is experienced in filling vacancies in the other Civil Services of India.

It was partly in consequence of this state of affairs that the Prime Minister, speaking in the House of Commons on August 2, emphasized the experimental character of the recent reforms, and declared that Britain would in no circumstances relinquish her responsibility to India, and that to discharge that great trust it is essential that we should have, not merely the aid of Indian Civil Servants and Indian legislators, but also the continued assistance of British officials. He said that these British Civil Servants were entitled to every word and deed of support that the Imperial Parliament could give, and that if they needed it, it was the business of statesmen to give it, to stand behind them, to support them, and to see that they were given justice and fair-play. He said that there was no idea of winding up the British Civil Service, that the Government consider it not merely as an integral part of the system, but as essential to the very life of that system, and that in that spirit they would consider everything that affected its conditions. He declared that whatever the British Government did in the way of strengthening the administration in India, there was one institution they would not interfere with or cripple, there was one institution they were not in the least going to deprive of any of its functions or of its privileges, and that was the institution which built up the British Raj—the British Civil Service.

This speech aroused great excitement in India, and notwithstanding assurances given by the Viceroy that nothing in the Prime Minister's statement to the House of Commons was intended to conflict with, or to indicate any departure from, the policy announced in the formal declarations and His Majesty's proclamations, the matter was brought up at meetings of the Indian Council of State and Legislative Assembly on September 8. The Council of State, after discussion, dropped the question. On the other hand, the Legislative Assembly passed a resolution by 48 votes to 34 expressing grave concern at Mr. Lloyd George's recent speech in the House of Commons on the future of India as conflicting with the declaration of 1917 and with the declarations made by the King. It is natural that many of the elected Indian members

of the Indian Legislatures should be anxious to hasten the Indianization of the Services, which would increase the power exercised by men of their class, and give them a larger share of the higher appointments held by servants of the State in India. It is also natural that they should feel confident of their capacity to govern their fellow-citizens as efficiently as they have been governed in the past by a succession of British officers. But it does not follow that the British Parliament should accept this estimate of their abilities or yield to their wishes without regard to other more important considerations. Men are too apt to think and write of the people of India as if they were fully represented by the elected members of the Indian Legislatures. They forget that, while there are some 250 million people in British India, apart from the Indian States, the franchise for the Provincial Councils has been conferred on only about 6 million electors—that is, on about one-eighth of the 50 million male householders, seven-eighths of whom have no say in the elections. It is also to be remembered that at the last election, even in contested constituencies, only about one-third of the electors recorded their votes, and in some cases, where apathy or intimidation kept many from the polls, only about one-tenth of the men entitled to a vote cared to exercise it. The present elected members of the Legislatures can therefore hardly claim to be fully representative even of the general body of electors, and can in no way be accepted as representing the seven-eighths of the population who have no share in the franchise at all. Those voteless millions include the great body of the uneducated peasantry and the depressed classes, and one of the greatest dangers of the reforms is that they will result in placing those uneducated masses at the mercy of the comparatively small educated fraction of the population, while, so far as past experience goes, the interests of those voteless people cannot safely be left in the hands of the educated class. This was recognized in the instructions issued to the Governors of Provinces in the name of His Majesty the King-Emperor, who specially required and charged those Governors individually to take care that due provision shall be made for the advancement and social welfare of those classes amongst the people committed to their charge who, whether on account of the smallness of their number or their lack of educational or material advantages, or from any other cause, specially rely upon His Majesty's protection and cannot as yet fully rely for their welfare upon joint political action, and that such classes shall not suffer or have cause to fear neglect or oppression. One of the first duties of the Governors and of the Government of India is

to protect those helpless masses of law-abiding people from tyranny and oppression at the hands of their more violent or more astute neighbours, and there is good reason to fear that until recently, at all events in some Provinces, that first duty has not been adequately fulfilled, whether from a desire to create a favourable atmosphere, first for the acceptance of the reforms, and afterwards for the visit of the Prince of Wales, or from a desire to carry out at all costs the supposed wishes of Parliament as indicated by its spokesman, the Secretary of State for India. Whatever were the motives for this action or inaction, the result has been deplorable. Their interference with the ordinary course of law as heads of the Executive Government or as the depositaries of the prerogative of mercy, while it has failed to conciliate the extremist non-co-operators, has grievously disheartened the judges, magistrates, and police in their efforts to maintain law and order, has shaken the confidence of the people generally in the power and justice of the Executive Authorities, and has encouraged all who by violent action or violent speech seek to impose their will upon their law-abiding fellows. So, too, in their dealings with the Legislative Councils, in many cases the Governor-General and the individual Governors have, against their better judgment, yielded to the wishes of majorities of those Councils, and have failed to exercise the powers which Parliament conferred upon them in the Government of India Act. They have no doubt wished to carry with them the Indian members of their Executive Councils, but have forgotten that great powers are conferred upon them individually, and that it is their duty to exercise them in the interests of peace and good government.

It was a trying ordeal for the Legislative Assembly in its first years to be faced with a serious deficit in the Budget, and to have to undertake the unpopular duty of imposing fresh taxation. On the whole, they carried out that duty better than might have been expected, but they refused to pass some of the more important proposals put before them by the Governor-General in Council, and left a large deficit in the current year's Budget uncovered. The acceptance of their refusal by the Governor-General in Council seems to have led some of the members to form an exaggerated idea of their power over the purse, and to think that, by the exercise of that power, they can compel the Government to reduce the expenditure under those heads, such as the cost of the Army, or the salaries of persons appointed by the Secretary of State, which under Section 25 of the Act are not to be submitted to their vote. It is to be noted, however, that that Section

provides that the Governor-General in Council, if satisfied that any demand which has been refused by the Legislative Assembly is essential to the discharge of his responsibilities, shall act as if it had been assented to. The Joint Select Committee in their Report said : " It should be understood from the beginning that this power of the Governor-General in Council is real, and that it is meant to be used if and when necessary." Further, the Section empowers the Governor-General himself in cases of emergency to authorize such expenditure as may, in his opinion, be necessary for the safety or tranquillity of British India, or any part thereof, and under Section 26, where either Chamber of the Indian Legislature fails to pass in a form recommended by the Governor-General any Bill (this includes a Bill imposing new taxation), the Governor-General personally may certify that the passage of the Bill is essential for the safety, tranquillity, or interests of British India, or any part thereof, and thereupon the Bill shall become an Act of the Indian Legislature, and after it has been laid before both Houses of Parliament and has received His Majesty's assent, it shall have the same force and effect as an Act passed by the Indian Legislature and duly assented to. It may become necessary (especially if at the next elections the non-co-operators succeed, by intimidation or otherwise, in securing a number of seats in the next Legislative Assembly, with the object of wrecking the reforms) for the Governor-General in Council, or for the Governor-General himself, to exercise these powers, even to the extent of imposing fresh taxation, with the assent of Parliament, though against the wishes of a majority of the Legislative Assembly, the elected members of which body represent only 1 million voters out of the 250 million people in British India.

It is to be hoped that Parliament, especially after the Prime Minister's strong declaration, will refuse to allow any further acceleration of the rate prescribed for the Indianization of the Indian Civil Services ; that it will fulfil the responsibility which it has itself acknowledged for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples ; that it will realize that the elected members of the Legislative bodies really represent only the educated and propertied classes, and that the interests of the uneducated millions are better represented by the British Civil Servants, owing to their detached position and trained experience ; that it will insist on having put before it not only the opinions of the Government of India and the Local Governments (which now include a large proportion of Indian members of Council, many of whom have had little experience in the work of administration), but of the more



experienced British officials who are at present in posts of great responsibility in India, or who have recently left the Service and are therefore in a better position to express their own personal views without fear or favour; that it will insist upon the due fulfilment by the Secretary of State, the Governor-General, and the Provincial Governors of the duties imposed upon them by the Government of India Act, and especially of their primary duty of maintaining law and order; and that it will see that the promise recently made by the Prime Minister shall be carried out, and that the just claims of the British Civil Servants of all classes shall be given due consideration, not only in regard to pay and promotion, but in the still more important matter of receiving loyal support from their superiors in carrying out their arduous duties.

If this question were to be decided in accordance with the principle of self-determination, and if it were possible to obtain a free vote of all the heads of households in British India, including the uneducated masses and depressed classes, on the question, "Whether would you rather have a British or an Indian officer to be your judge, magistrate, civil surgeon, police-officer, or engineer," I am confident that in practically every district in British India the vote would be overwhelmingly in favour of the British officer, although there are many excellent Indian officers in the different Services who have benefited by the training and have imbibed the spirit of their British fellow-workers.

The main cause of the pessimistic feeling which undoubtedly at present pervades the British Indian Services is the fear that, owing to weak administration and yielding to violence and threats, the work done by them and their predecessors in building up a secure, prosperous, and contented India will be allowed to fall into ruin, and that it is useless for them to spend their energies in struggling against this fate. If this weak government is allowed to continue, no doubt many of the present civilians serving in all branches of the administration will throw up their Indian careers and leave the country in despair, and few men of the proper stamp will care to risk their future by applying for appointments in India. On the other hand, if Parliament insists on strong, just, and impartial government, there is reason to expect that the great majority of the present officials will consent to stay on and use their best endeavour to make the reforms a success, in the hope that they may ultimately work out to the good of the Indian people; and that, as was formerly the case, a sufficient number of the ablest men from the British Universities will go out to carry on the great work which Britain has undertaken on behalf of those helpless masses of their fellow-subjects.

The future is full of uncertainties, more especially as regards the composition of the Legislative Councils to be elected next year, and as to the extent to which the responsible Governors will allow themselves to be dominated by the votes of majorities on those new Councils. It would seem to be wise for British Civil officers now serving in India not to retire on the reduced pensions now offered them, until they feel certain that their future position in India will be intolerable. And I should advise any undergraduate of a British University who may have thoughts of an Indian career, to apply for an appointment in India without spending time or money on any special preparation for it, and if he is definitely offered such an appointment, to consider all the circumstances, as things then stand, before he decides whether he will accept the offer or turn his attention to some other opening for his work in life.

## JAPAN BEFORE AND AFTER THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

BY A JAPANESE

NEARLY a year has passed since the Washington Conference held its first meeting, and it may not be inopportune to consider what effects that historic assemblage has exercised upon political conditions in the island Empire of Japan and upon her international relations. It is the more necessary to do so because the Japanese considered that the convocation of the Conference by President Harding signified that many points of view, which had long been adumbrated in Japan, were at length to find vent by forming the subject of open and, it was hoped, amicable discussion across the Conference table. It may be stated at the outset that these hopes were, to a large extent, realized, and that the ultimate outcome of the Washington Conference was regarded by the Japanese nation as a further step in its progress along the somewhat thorny path of international understanding.

In the summer of the year 1921, when the holding of the Washington Conference was first informally discussed, Japan had a naval programme, which was known as the "eight-eight" programme, adopted by the Imperial Diet. The object of this programme, it will be remembered, was to provide sixteen capital ships—that is, eight battleships and eight battle-cruisers—none of which at any time should exceed eight years of age. According to the explanations given by

the late Mr. T. Hara, then Japanese Premier, at the Diet in January, 1921, it was the only one which would permit Japan to protect her coasts and shipping to an adequate extent. Japan being financially in a position more comparable to that of the United States than to that of the European nations who fought in the Great War, there seemed to exist no financial obstacles to prevent the execution of the programme. Nevertheless, the idea of a Conference on the limitation of naval armaments was welcomed by many serious thinkers in Japan. The naval and military expenditure were absorbing the greater part of the Japanese State revenue: consequently the limitation of naval armaments, in conjunction with the principal naval Powers, would set free a large surplus for productive purposes without risk of weakening the relative naval strength of the State. There was another reason, however, for which they specially welcomed the Conference. The execution of the eight-eight programme was to be spread over a number of years. At first the burden on the nation would be comparatively light, but as the execution of the programme approached completion, the enormous expenses of the maintenance of the warships already constructed, together with the necessary expenses of replacement of obsolete vessels, would become a heavy drain on the Treasury. In these circumstances, and in consequence of the great rise in the costs of construction, which was already making itself felt in 1921, they feared that towards the end of the programme there would be a probability of a considerable increase in the burden of the taxpayers, a measure which might arouse great public animosity against the programme and might even cause its abandonment. In addition, the Japanese Government's attitude at this period on the subject of Japan's naval strength also gave support to assertions, both in the press and elsewhere, that war between Japan and the United States was inevitable. Even allowing that Japan could afford to enter into a naval shipbuilding race with a country possessing the vast resources and the enormous wealth of the United States, war between the two countries is an impossibility for geographical reasons. In spite of this, and although official statements refuting these rumours were issued from time to time, yet believers in the old "yellow peril" doctrine eagerly assimilated the new tenets and busied themselves in making converts. In these circumstances, it seemed that the best way in which to convince the world at large of the baselessness of these assertions was an agreement on the limitation of naval armaments.

In the meantime a feeling of mistrust against the Washington Conference was loudly voiced in some sections of the

Japanese press and elsewhere. It was specially asked, with some justification, what bearing Chinese questions, which were to be included in the agenda of the Conference, had upon the main issue of naval disarmament. They believed that the Conference would be used as a means of exercising pressure upon Japan with regard to her relations with China, and this was naturally resented. The responsibility for creating this atmosphere of mistrust rested, to some extent, upon Occidental publicists. The foreign press was being continually quoted in Japan, and its utterances were far from being friendly, such phrases as "summoning Japan to the bar of the Conference to give an account of her dealings with China" being not uncommon. It should be remembered that as a comparatively new member of the comity of nations, and only ranking still more recently as one of the Great Powers, Japan is sensitive. She has not yet acquired that toughness of the mental epidermis which is as much a necessity of international, as it is of social, intercourse. Her sensitiveness makes her liable to misconstrue a brusque utterance as an intentional slight, and she suffers accordingly. When downright antagonism or unfriendliness is expressed, as frequently occurred in the press on both sides of the Atlantic both before and during the Washington Conference, Japanese sensitiveness is prone to develop into a conviction that her national amour-propre is being attacked.

The Japanese Government, although fully aware of these dissensions of their critics in and out of the Imperial Diet, decided to participate in the deliberations at Washington, and when their delegates came to the Conference table, they came with the firm intention to do their utmost to assist in bringing about a satisfactory result in its deliberations. This decision of the Japanese Government, in my opinion, entitles them to a measure of appreciation on the part of the other Powers, as Japan's presence was essential to the success of the Conference, and without her participation its decisions would have been practically of no value.

A further question which exercised the minds of the Japanese, and was also much discussed in England in 1921, was that of the renewal or abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. The interest in the matter was not confined to the two countries as chiefly concerned, but had gradually assumed an almost world-wide importance. In Japan itself the Alliance had not only always been regarded as a strong moral factor in strengthening Japan's position in international politics, but there were also sentimental reasons, which had become almost traditional, for the widespread desire that the Alliance should

be renewed. That this aspiration was not unanimously shared by all the nations composing the British Commonwealth was, however, manifest during the sessions of the Imperial Conference in London in June, 1921. Public opinion was also hostile to the Alliance in the United States, where the mistaken view still prevailed that England might eventually be forced to choose between violating the Alliance or fighting on Japan's side against America. It availed little to point out that under no circumstances could the terms of the Alliance be subject to such an interpretation: the idea persisted, and gained special credence in the ranks of the alarmists, who still regarded a conflict between America and Japan as almost certain to occur in the future. It was therefore a relief to both Japanese and British statesmen when the question of the renewal of the Alliance was postponed until the following year, especially as the announcement of this decision assisted to alleviate the international situation.

The temporary removal of the Alliance problem did not entirely relieve Japan of her international troubles: there remained the apparently insoluble question of her relations with China, and its unfavourable reaction on the American attitude. Neither in America nor in China had there been evidence that the public was inclined to accept the olive branch which Japan was entirely willing to proffer. With regard to the United States, the thorny question of the status of Japanese settlers on the South Pacific slopes was pending. The Shantung settlement, though honestly desired by the Japanese, still hung fire, and the hostility towards Japan which the delayed settlement was causing in China was being fostered by the utterances of the anti-Japanese section in the United States.

Japan is not in a position to afford all these bad feelings. On the contrary, the Japanese had always believed sincerely, and still do believe, that friendship with their great neighbours, the United States and China, is the keystone of Japanese foreign policy. Without considering the ties which have united all three countries in the past, springing from geographical propinquity and the higher plane of intimate cultural and social relations, Japan was not oblivious of the good offices of the late President Roosevelt, whose mediation was so successful in 1905, when the Peace of Portsmouth brought the Russo-Japanese War to a conclusion. As a matter of plain fact, America had been considered by the Japanese as their best friend up to the end of that war. Then this relation of special friendship began to suffer a diminution owing to differences of an inconsiderable nature which sprang up between

the two countries regarding Japanese immigration and the status of Japanese settlers in California.

Apart from the moral considerations alluded to above, there are great material advantages which accrue to America, China, and Japan by reason of the enormous volume of trade which flows between them. For instance, during the years 1919, 1920, and 1921, China absorbed 21.6 per cent. and the United States 35.7 per cent. of the total value of Japanese exports, Japan receiving from these two countries respectively 11.9 per cent. and 32.2 per cent. of her imports during the same period. The United States, on the other hand, absorbed practically the whole of the Japanese output of raw silk, no less than 93.9 per cent. in value of the total silk exported going to that country. This raw silk represented in value just over a quarter of Japan's total export trade for the years in question, and constituted 70.8 per cent. of the value of the total exports to the United States.

These figures are impressive, because they not only prove the correctness of the Japanese argument that their neighbours are good buyers and customers, but they also demonstrate that, particularly with regard to America, trade rivalry is practically non-existent. The same applies to the Chinese market, where the United States send machinery, locomotives, engines, motor-cars, and oil, while Japan exports cotton piece-goods, cotton yarn, matches, and marine products. Under these circumstances, Japan hoped that the opportunities promised at the Washington Conference for the free interchange of ideas would result in restoring her former cordial relations with the United States and China.

Japan, therefore, entered the Washington Conference with three main considerations in view: she desired to co-operate in a plan for ending the ruinous competition in naval armaments, the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance or some equivalent pact which would guarantee the peace of the Far East, and last, but not least in importance, she hoped to effect a change in the unfavourable atmosphere towards her in the United States and China.

As already indicated, the Japanese Delegates knew even before they arrived at Washington that the unofficial "atmosphere" was by no means likely to prove exhilarating. A contingent of the American press representatives, reinforced by some of their British colleagues, who were early on the spot, had thought it necessary to open a campaign of misrepresentation calculated seriously to prejudice a public opinion which was already sufficiently antagonistic to the Japanese. It was therefore a matter for satisfaction to Japan that her

Delegates were successful in reversing the preconceived judgment, and that the consensus of opinion slowly but surely accorded recognition to the conciliatory and tactful bearing which they displayed. The attitude of the Japanese Delegates was described by a British journalist as one of "far-sighted moderation," his opinion being echoed in many quarters which had been noteworthy hitherto for adverse criticism. The settlement of the Yap controversy in November, 1921, on terms mutually acceptable to the United States and Japan, was also a contributory factor in restoring general harmony.

It now remains to consider to what extent Japan is justified in regarding the outcome of the Washington Conference with satisfaction, and how far her diplomacy was successful in attaining the objects in view.

The Treaty for the Limitation of Naval Armaments certainly realized her desire to achieve retrenchment in her naval expenditure, and will spare her the necessity for making further inroads upon the pockets of her taxpayers. The signing of the Quadruple Pacific Treaty, although it is true that the ratification of this document automatically dissolved the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, may be regarded with satisfaction by Japan, because, as optimistic observers have chosen to consider, through its instrumentality the number of her intimate companions on the path of world politics was increased by two without losing the traditional good relationship of England, which was the chief reason that Japan desired the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Japan should, therefore, be content. Perhaps public opinion in Japan was more inclined to dwell upon the words spoken by Lord Balfour at the plenary session of the Washington Conference on December 10, 1921, when he alluded to the important purpose which the Alliance had served in the course of two great wars, and to the fact that Great Britain and Japan had been united during nearly twenty years by something closer than the mere words of a treaty. Be that as it may, a stumbling-block to American-Japanese understanding was removed by the Quadruple Pacific Treaty, without cutting the ties which united the island Empires of Great Britain and Japan.

Above all, what is regarded by the Japanese as the greatest achievement on the part of Japan is some change of American opinion towards Japan, which was successfully brought about in consequence of this Conference. This present tendency, if well fostered and guided, cannot but lead to the happy return of the former intimate relationship which existed between the two countries. It is not only a matter of great satisfaction to

the Japanese, but also a matter beneficial to the world as a whole.

With regard to Sino-Japanese relations, these profited greatly as the result of the agreement concerning China known as the Nine-Power Treaty. In addition to this, numerous discussions between Japan and China at the Conference table, in which the American and British representatives intervened with friendly intent and great success, culminated in a Sino-Japanese Treaty for the settlement of outstanding questions as regards Shantung.

Thus the labours of the Washington Conference resulted, from the Japanese point of view, in clearing the political atmosphere to an extent which surpassed the most sanguine expectations which the nation has permitted itself to cherish, and her Delegates were able to return home with the consciousness of a task well performed.

What, then, have been the practical results of the Conference, and what steps has Japan taken to give effect to the decisions arrived at?

So far as the navy is concerned, Japan has acted with promptitude. The Asano Shipyard, near Tokio, practically ceased work in April, 1922; and in the same month seven battleships and three battle-cruisers were placed on the reserve list, preparatory to scrapping after ratification of the Naval Treaty. In addition, two large 43,000-ton battle-cruisers which were under construction were changed into aeroplane carriers, and in June the Navy Department announced that the naval bases of Port Arthur, and of Takeshiki and Yeiko in Korea, were to be closed down, whilst Maidzuru and Chinkai, also in Korea, would be reduced to second-class naval bases. With regard to the personnel, some 1,000 commissioned officers were to be placed on the retired list in May, and the active service training for naval ratings was at the same time reduced to two years, 12,000 sailors, out of 55,000, being affected by this order.

All the above-mentioned measures were a direct result of the treaty regarding naval disarmament, but the Japanese Government, influenced by the spirit engendered and fostered by the Washington Conference, immediately after it was concluded, set about the task of effecting reductions and reforms in the Army. The War Office, the General Staff, and other Government Departments concerned, conducted a minute and elaborate investigation into a retrenchment scheme, which was duly approved by the Cabinet on June 30, 1922. Under this scheme the personnel was to be reduced by 56,000 men, the horses on establishment by 12,000, and the period of



military service by forty-five days. A thorough reorganization of the infantry, cavalry, artillery, engineers, and transport corps was to be effected, and superannuated officers, especially those of field rank, were to be dismissed. Before the end of the current fiscal year, proposals for reducing the Army estimates by about 20,200,000 yen were to be laid before the Diet, and a further saving of 2,800,000 yen was to be obtained by a readjustment of the existing Army administration. A yearly expenditure of about 7,000,000 yen during the next thirteen years for the provision of new weapons was, on the other hand, in contemplation, but the net saving to be effected was nevertheless considerable.

In the same spirit of reducing military establishments wherever possible, it was decided to withdraw the Japanese troops from Hankow, from the Maritime Province of Siberia, and from the districts opposite to the island of Saghalien. With regard to Korea, the two garrison divisions are being reduced by some 4,800 men, and the six battalions on special duty in Manchuria for the protection of the South Manchurian Railway zone are being gradually withdrawn over a period of three years, the withdrawal of other troops in Manchuria being likewise begun during the current fiscal year.

Towards the end of July, 1922, an announcement was made by the Japanese Foreign Office that Japanese Post Offices in China would be withdrawn by January 1, 1923, and negotiations are now proceeding at Peking with regard to the details in order to prevent any inconveniences arising when the withdrawal takes place.

As regards the Shantung Treaty between China and Japan, Japanese troops were entirely withdrawn from the Shantung Railway zone on May 4, 1922, the last contingent leaving Tsingtao for Japan on May 9. Ratifications were exchanged between the two Governments on June 2, while outstanding questions are now under the consideration of a joint committee. These negotiations are proceeding smoothly.

All the Washington treaties were ratified by the Japanese Government, without reservations, on August 5, 1922.

The pacific aims of Japanese policy were aptly summed up by Viscount Ishii, the Japanese Ambassador at Paris, when addressing at Geneva on September 7 last the Assembly of the League of Nations, which he attended with Baron Hayashi and M. Adatci in the capacity of Japanese Delegate. He said :

"Japan rejoices that she was able to collaborate with the Powers represented at Washington in the most friendly spirit, and to sign, in common with them, an agreement restricting

naval armaments to such an extent. I am happy to be able to assure you also that the Japanese Government will never hesitate to give their sincere and active support to the labours of the League of Nations, and that all their efforts will be devoted at Geneva, as they were at Washington, towards the development in international relations of a spirit of confidence and peace."

## THE PROGRESS OF THE ZIONIST COLONIES

BY ARTHUR D. LEWIS

(Joint-Editor, "Zionism: Problems and Views")

READERS of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* do not need to be told that wherever East and West meet there are at the points of intersection problems difficult to settle. Where the West is given responsibility, the burden is great. There is much to charm in the East, but much that calls for improvement. The East, putting the matter without any subtlety, has feeling, spontaneity, and a coloured life: the West has order, law, and scientific methods.

The problem in Palestine after the war is one of the problems of contact between West and East.

The Zionist work in Palestine introduces a special element which is regarded by some as an added burden, by others as an assistance to the development of the country. Zionist Jews, it is said, ought to bridge the gulf between West and East: the Jews go back to the East made familiar with the knowledge and habits of the West.

The test of such a power of cementing divergent races can be applied only after many years, but, in a certain manner, the Zionist work may well prove an immediate aid to English efforts. The Zionists bring money and workers into a backward and poverty-stricken country—a country under-populated because it is under-cultivated, and under-cultivated because it is cultivated by careless and antiquated methods.

Before the war, many of the Zionist immigrants had some means. The effect of the war has been to ruin the parts of Europe where those Jews most directly moved by Jewish nationalist feeling live. The present-day settling of Jews in Palestine is therefore a work of assisted immigration. It is controlled and supervised by the Zionist Organization, and involves the difficult task of transferring a town population to an agricultural life.

The number of immigrants who have entered Palestine in

the three years ending with last December is about 25,000. The total number of Jews in Palestine at the beginning of 1921 was roughly estimated at about 81,000 out of a total population of 761,000. These figures are only estimates. Moreover, these statistics are, unless other considerations are taken into account, very misleading. The immigrants have nearly all been selected by local committees appointed by the offices of the Zionist Organization in various countries. The majority of the immigrants are young and strong—men and also women of such types and with such hopes and enthusiasm as will enable them to root themselves in a fresh soil. They *do not carry out the hard work necessarily the worse because* many of them are brain workers, for the ideal which inspires them will encourage them to endure.

The immigrants coming into Palestine are idealists. They are idealists who have lived in the main in Eastern Europe, in lands with traditions of persecution of the Jews. They are spurred by faith in a national revival in the land that once was, and has never ceased to be called by them, the Land of Israel.

These pioneers have been largely occupied in the hard but much needed work of road-making. They work in co-operative groups, called *Kevusoth*, which are of considerable interest to all who care for attempts to improve labour conditions in regard to the control of labour and the distribution of pay. These groups elect their own foremen and supervisors. They contract to carry out specific pieces of work without the intervention of a contractor. Such groups have done the work required in preparation for settlements—terracing hill-sides, removing stones, draining, and building.

So far as is possible, the pioneers (called in Hebrew *Hakusum*) are after this preliminary work settled in the Jewish agricultural colonies.

At first, after the occupation of Palestine by the British, the sale of land was prohibited. As soon as the Land Register was opened, steps were taken to increase the comparatively small holdings of the Zionist Organization. The new estates were not obtained by expropriation, nor were they given to the Zionists by the British Government, as has been alleged and suggested by the enemies of Zionism, but were obtained solely by purchase.

The total area, rural and urban, at the disposal of the Zionist Organization is now more than four times as much as it was two years ago, comprising over 113,000 *dunam* (about 28,000 acres).

Too much attention has been given to the political aspect of the Zionist question. Both Arabs and Jews have some-

times been carried away by enthusiasm, and have darkened the subject with argument and counter-argument, more largely based on what might be than on what is; after the manner of the popular propagandist with whom the resonant phrase need never be checked by the relevant fact. There is necessarily an element of illusion in all discussions on national fate and on social progress. Let us, then, keep to the concrete facts and indisputable figures.

There are now fifty-five Jewish colonies. In 1914 there were only forty-three. The colonies comprise about 165,000 acres of land. These flourishing settlements have introduced notable improvement in agricultural methods and in housing conditions. In Jewish colonies we see the ox-drawn plough replace the man-drawn plough of the Arab. We find the Jews using for the irrigation of their orange and lemon groves motors driven by oil or gas instead of the chain-pumps worked by camel or mule, used by the Arabs. Cattle-breeding, dairy-farming, and rotation of crops enable a less wasteful system of agriculture to be introduced than that which hitherto has been used.

Much more has, indeed, been done than has been generally realised. Take the question of health conditions. The Jews have introduced into the country modern sanitation, and have made modern medical skill available for the general population. The Zionist Medical Unit has treated numerous Arabs as well as Jews. This body controls four hospitals, six clinics, bacteriological laboratories, and training schools for nurses. In six months from September, 1920, to March, 1921, 168,985 visits were paid by patients to the clinics alone. The value of the medical work done by the Zionists is recognized by the Arabs themselves.

In order to prevent the dunes from spreading, the Jews have planted trees on them. They have literally made the desert blossom. At Richon-le-Zion the Government presented to the colony a piece of the dunes in order that they might tie down the sands with trees. In a few years uninhabited places are transformed into garden cities, where Western ideas are adapted to an Eastern atmosphere. The houses in these cities are far superior to those of the neighbouring villages. They are built of stone with roofs of red tiles, which contrast well with the miserable dwellings of mud and straw inhabited by the Arabs, in their not unpicturesque villages which are often barely distinguishable from the hillsides on which they rest.

The productivity of the Jewish colonies is considerably greater than that of lands cultivated by the Arabs. To give one example, Jewish orange groves on an average yield

forty or fifty per cent. more oranges per acre than do Arab orange groves, and about the same ratio exists between the produce of Jewish and Arab vineyards.

The draining of swamps is another task which has contributed greatly to the improvement of health. The planting of eucalyptus-trees has aided in this improvement, since the eucalyptus absorbs moisture. The Arabs call the eucalyptus-tree the Jews' tree. The swampy districts in and near Merchavia, Daganian and Kinnereth have been drained and planted with eucalyptus-trees at a cost of £7,000.

The production of wine in Palestine is mainly a Jewish industry. Muhammadans are, of course, forbidden to drink wine. The colonies of Richon-le-Zion and Zichron Jacob are the largest wine-producing centres. The annual production of wine is worth about 5,000,000 francs.

The discoveries which have been made at the agricultural experiment stations, of which there are already four, promise to be of great service to the future of the country. They have determined the best methods to be used in the various parts of a country where the climate varies greatly within a short distance. They have likewise decided which are the types of barley, sesame, tobacco, sugar-cane, and flax best suited to the conditions in Palestine. They have given guidance in the struggle against injurious insects.

The olive is specially valuable in Palestine because of its adaptable character: it grows well in the richest humus soil, as well as in stony and sandy places, and needs little water. The primitive methods of the Arabs cause the harvest of olives to fail every second year. This is probably due to the destructive way in which they treat the tree at harvest-time, beating the fruit down from the branches, instead of picking it, as is done in the Jewish plantations. The olive-trees, with their smooth rounded outlines and their dull green leaves, that seem to shimmer in the light, give a special character to the landscape.

Palestine is, of course, predominantly an agricultural country. Since the British occupation a distinct advance has been made in the Jewish colonies in dairy-farming, bee-keeping, poultry-raising, and vegetable-growing. Better breeds of cows have been imported, and the quality of the fodder has been improved.

The Zionist Organization has granted loans for public works, and has assisted private enterprise. The General Mortgage Bank promoted by the Organization has furthered the building of houses.

Though the country can never be other than predominantly agricultural, it calls for the development of some industries

suited to the land and to the people. The house-famine is acute in Palestine ; many of the immigrants are living in tents. The production of building materials is of the utmost value. A factory has been started for making silicate bricks. Stone is being quarried at Athlit and Jerusalem. There is a considerable amount of building being carried on at Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Tiberias, and indeed in all districts where Jewish settlements are being established.

There are other infant industries. A French group, in which Baron Edmond de Rothschild is interested, has just constructed a modern flour-mill in Haifa. Fruit-canning is already carried on to a small extent. The country is so pre-eminently a fruit-growing country that this industry might well be greatly extended. Soap-making from the inferior oils extracted from the olive is an ancient Syrian industry, which also seems capable of extension. At present the best soap-works are owned by Jews.

The almost famous Rutenberg scheme will provide employment for many workers, both Arabs and Jews. But, let it be noted, the Arab labour available for work is limited, because the Arab cultivator returns periodically to his own land. Hence, military works in Palestine during the war were largely carried out by Egyptian labour.

Rutenberg's harnessing of the Jordan would serve to supply water for irrigation, and electric power for driving such modest industries as can be established in the country. The scheme is not the work of a money-making, soulless financier : it is a project conceived by, and appealing to, earnest Zionists. The full text of the concession shows that at all points the Government retains the right to terminate the agreement unless it is satisfied with its social utility. Thus, at the start, the High Commissioner has to approve of the Memorandum, Articles of Association, and Prospectus of the company. The rates to be charged for water and electricity are fixed, as are the profits—any surplus going to the Government. If the company does not carry out the works within a given time, it is subject to a fine, and in case of default may lose the concession. If it does not supply the power required, this cancels the monopoly, and the work may be handed to others. It is worth while to recall these facts, which are still not generally recognized by those who condemn the scheme. The distribution of electricity can be transferred to local bodies, and after thirty-seven years it will be possible to buy out the undertaking. Finally, the High Commissioner may exercise such supervision, financial or technical, as he thinks necessary ; and if the company fails to comply with any of the conditions, he may, after six months' notice, terminate the whole affair.

Such is the concession, which has been misrepresented as an outrageous monopoly, likely to enslave the whole population : it is subject to Government control of prices and profits ; competition may be introduced if the company is inefficient ; the concession may be cancelled unless those holding it do their duty satisfactorily.

Few people realize how much money has already been invested by the Jews in Palestine. It is estimated that the total invested during the four years from 1918 to 1922 amounted to four million pounds.

An Arab-Jewish Committee for the orange export trade, Arab pupils at the Jewish schools of Rosh Pina, Arab co-operation in Jewish development schemes, are all indications of a natural intercourse between Jew and Arab. Work done by Jewish hospitals and Jewish doctors for Arab patients has already been mentioned. Arabs are joined with Jews in the railway-workers' trade union. Sir Herbert Samuel's sense of fairness is appreciated by all sections of the population.

It may be feared by some readers that news about Palestine is mostly propagandist in tendency, states a case and misleads—either in favour of one side or of the other. The British Consuls before the war had no interest in praising the work done by the Jews. They had not conceived that the Balfour Declaration would ever be issued, that Turkey would lose her empire, or the Mandate be conferred on Great Britain. Yet more than one Consular Report refers to the Jewish colonies in terms of praise, many years before the war. Thus the Report of 1900 says : "There can be no doubt that the establishment of the Jewish colonies in Palestine has brought about a great change in the aspect of the country, and an example has been set before the native rural population of the manner in which agricultural operations are conducted on modern and scientific principles."

The tale of Jewish enterprise in Palestine can never be fully told in terms of material economy. The efforts of modern Zionism, practical in character and even prosaic, as is necessary in these modern days of hurried life and fierce competition, have yet behind them an impulse drawn from the long roll of prophecy and hope, by which consolation and a compensatory ideal was given to a people, which so long ago was deprived of political existence and scattered over every part of the world, there to await, usually in miserable poverty, those great events, that final settlement which its sacred Scriptures promised, when the people and its God alike should return to Zion.

## "EAST AND WEST": THE GULF THAT THREATENS

BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL C. D. BRUCE, C.B.E.

"We are accustomed to think of the world as a spherical superficies, on the surface of which 'Western civilization' radiates from a small part of an irregular peninsula called 'Europe.' Even though we recall that for ages it was Asia and Africa that led the van of civilization, and that in later times first the Levant and then the more general area of the Mediterranean basin contained the great centres of human culture, yet the bias with which European history has been written tends to obscure the fact that it was not until the thirteenth century that Western Europe played any important part in world history. From the seventh to the twelfth century the most efficient forces in the world—intellectual, moral, and physical—were in the hands of men of Arabic speech. At one time in that period there had stretched from Cathay to Cadiz an empire faithful to Islam, and with Arabic as an official language. The like of that empire the world has never seen before or since; and, though it endured but for a short while, the fragments into which it broke long retained some nominal unity with each other, together with a real hegemony of the world. In the thirteenth century Muhammadan civilization suffered a terrible blow, from which it has never shown any real sign of recovery. The hideous invasions of the Mongols utterly destroyed the nominal unity of the Arabian empire, and with it went the intellectual prestige and power of Islam. Since then the Orient has been the client, not the master, of the Occident."\*

It is dangerous any longer to think that "Western Civilization" radiates from a small part of an irregular peninsula called "Europe." Or, that the Orient will be content to remain the client of the Occident. Asia in general repudiates any such position. The Great War has proved that the relationship of client and master no longer exists.

One of the outstanding results of "Armageddon" is the growing antagonism between East and West. This,

\* *Times Review*, July, 1922.



added to the instinctive distrust of the Asiatic for the European, especially in Muslim countries, represents a serious menace to the world's peace.

Since the Treaty of Versailles the political problems of Europe have remained insoluble to the cleverest brains.

What chance can there be for the more complex problems of Asia? Yet no settlement which concerns Europe only can bring lasting peace. Not even though German reparations and the fate of Russia were to be satisfactorily dealt with to-morrow.

Asia stands to-day at the parting of the ways. India and China, Turkey and Persia, containing practically half of the world's population, are in imminent danger of being submerged in the struggle to assimilate, or to free themselves from, "Western Civilization." Behind Asia hovers the hoary past of an isolated and self-centred tradition, not yet obliterated. Before its teeming but only half-awakened millions lie two paths. Though the majority of these millions are yet incapable of individual choice, a decision must be taken. One path leads to a glorious reincarnation; the other, choked with the thorns and briars of worn-out Oriental shibboleths, can only lead to destruction.

Which path will the East choose? Alone and unaided can nations like China, Persia, and Turkey rid themselves of the clinging fetters of a by-gone past? Do they want to? Therein lies the danger.

Behind all our post-war experience in Europe stands the spectre of Asiatic peoples seething with new ideas, new hopes, new aspirations—it might be added—with new fears of Europe. The mental maelstrom boiling in many Oriental brains is full of latent dangers to the peace of the world. Taken in time and guided sympathetically, these new aspirations contain wonderful possibilities. Left to ferment, or—more dangerous still—treated with the condescension of a superior civilization, those same aspirations may become virulent poisons, penetrating the body politic full of deadly infection.

One of the main reasons for the unsettled state of Europe to-day is the retention in it of a spirit of selfish and restricted nationalism. In pre-war days this spirit reigned supreme. That it has become to any extent seriously modified is open to doubt. Nowhere is this spirit more strongly emphasized than in the relations between East and West. Neither seems to understand the other; both are suspicious of one another. If the gulf so created is not to widen to an impassible chasm, a bridge must be at once commenced.

Thanks to the statesmanship of President Harding and his advisers, an initial step has already been taken. At the Washington Conference, for the first time in history, East and West met on terms of equality to discuss future policies. But if the Washington Conference is to be an isolated attempt to narrow the existing gulf, and to find a *modus vivendi*, optimists may cease to hope. As a starting-post on the road along which East and West can travel in mutual confidence and respect the Conference may be of historic importance.

At this point it may be advisable to give a very brief summary of the present position in the East. It has already been said that India, China, Turkey, and Persia, are the chief, but by no means the only, sources of future trouble. There are problems, and grave ones, which Japan must face during the next few years, of which her leaders are well aware. The present financial position of Japan is causing serious misgiving to those responsible for her Imperial resources. Her industrial rise and the attraction of the proletariat from an agricultural to an economic life are other problems from which may arise momentous consequences to Japan.

Africa also has difficulties to overcome. These centre to some extent round the age-long colour question, but in Northern Africa and elsewhere the religious question obtrudes itself insistently. The Senussi propaganda, though frequently forgotten, is a factor in Muhammadan feeling which may have incalculable consequences.

An endeavour must now be made to suggest a constructive policy by which the drifting apart of East and West may be checked. For this purpose it is necessary to come at once to our point, and to indicate the lines on which that policy should be based.

In the opinion of the writer there are two definite steps which, if taken, would tend more than anything to secure future peace to Asia and to the world. The first is the question of a reorganized and revitalized China; the other, the reversal of our present pro-Greek and anti-Turkish policy for a pro-Turkish one—in plain language, a return to the *status quo* of pre-war days with Turkey.\*

Let us glance at the possibilities of these two steps.

A century ago the remoteness of the Far East, while it cast a veil of romance over its unknown millions, was accountable for the absence of friction between Asia and Europe. Intercourse there might be, but free intercourse

\* Written in August, 1922.

was, of course, impossible. Economic competition was unknown. For Europe, China and Japan hardly existed—that is to say the real China and the real Japan, not the fanciful creations of them which still survive in the pages of certain American and European books.

In these days of rapidly improving communication conditions are entirely changed. Distance has been annihilated. All the world are near neighbours. People cannot avoid rubbing shoulders even if they would.

Within the memory of living men came the awakening of Japan. A miracle occurred, and, thanks to the almost superhuman foresight of a few of her leading statesmen, Japan transformed herself into a modern nation; how and by what means is too well known to need recalling. China slept on, and to-day, though awake, has not yet been able to throw off the lethargy of past centuries. Why?

China has an area of 4,300,000 square miles, more than the area of Europe, leaving out Russia; and an increasing population of over 400 million souls. Her capital is, and has been for 200 years, remote from all her centres of civilization. Peking, and Canton the southern capital are 1,000 miles apart. Peking, until the northern railways were built, was completely isolated from the rest of China. To all intents and purposes it could only be reached by sea. To-day China is still ostensibly governed from Peking. But how long this can continue is a question which has already begun to trouble the minds of the younger generation of Chinese officials. We know that the decline and fall of Rome was partly due to the retention for too long of an isolated capital.

In the European sense of the word, there are no roads in the interior of China. In many provinces wheeled traffic remains impossible. Animals, or coolies pushing wheelbarrows, are the sole means of transport. In the United States of America to-day there are 250,000 miles of railway-lines to serve a population of 100 millions. In China there are 5,000 miles for a population of 400 millions. Until modern methods of transportation and communication are created, how can the reorganization of national life proceed? How can a large disjointed continent like China suddenly awake? How can a non-military, peace-loving race emulate a militaristic, war-loving one like Japan?

Let us turn to the brighter side of the picture.

As all the world knows, China is the most valuable prospective market for the expansion of European industries. Since the Republic was declared in 1911, it has

been impossible to evoke a stable central government. The country is still torn asunder by the interprovincial strife of military adventurers and corrupt official cliques. But China is *par excellence* the land of surprises. At any moment the man may be found able and willing to create order out of chaos. By nature and inclination the Chinese people are the most law-abiding upon earth. During the last decade of interprovincial strife and cruel misgovernment the "stupid people" have never wavered from "the paths of virtue." In less prosaic language, in spite of ruthless oppression, of constant interference with their daily life and business, in spite of conditions which after the Thirty Years War left Europe the abomination of desolation, the Chinese people have continued to sow and reap, to buy and sell—in fact, have "carried on."

There have been few more wonderful tributes to the vitality of any nation than this. But it is as well to remember that when the man or men do arrive who can create a strong central government, a government "for the people, of the people, and by the people," the same undaunted spirit which will have made possible this national evolution will make these 400 million souls the most formidable competitors in the struggle for economic supremacy history has ever known. And unless Europe in the near future can bridge the gulf that threatens, competitors in a struggle for supremacy between East and West which may not remain only economic.

Like the U.S.A., possibly to an even greater extent, China is entirely self-contained. The potential wealth of the country is beyond the dreams of avarice, beyond the dreams of even a modern profiteer. In its agricultural population it contains an asset which no other country, not even pre-war Russia, had or has. Its mineral wealth is incalculable. The climatic conditions render it possible to produce any known fruit, vegetable, or cereal. Its hundreds of miles of coast-line and its fisheries afford harbours for sea-borne traffic, and a livelihood for millions of its hardiest population. Finally, and in these days of economic competition most valuable of all, it has an inexhaustible supply of labour.

This hitherto almost untouched supply has to some slight extent been already exploited by European trading companies who control mills and factories at the treaty ports and at Hong-Kong. Organized as this labour has already begun to be—witness the serious strikes which lately occurred at Hong-Kong—those who direct it will before

long be able to dictate terms to European employers in China. Not only have the mills and factory hands begun to set up their unions, but the sea-borne trade of the China coast, still mainly in European hands, will find itself dependent upon the dictation of Chinese labour leaders. In addition to the faults and foibles incident to their position as labour leaders, these men will be swayed by an ever growing feeling antagonistic to things Occidental. But such antagonism need not exist.

As has already been said, the Chinese are the most law-abiding people on earth. They want no man's land. They envy no one. They prefer peace to an extent few of the world's most virile nations have ever desired it. Fair treatment and a square deal is the sure road to any man's friendship in China. To us as a nation the Chinese are already bound by ties of mutual advantage. If Englishmen are born traders, the Chinese are more than their equals. It is by strengthening these mutual ties, not only in trade but by every other means in our power, that we and other nations can best help China. Ties of trade and of mutual exchange may not be a very firm foundation upon which to erect a lasting bond between nations, but in this industrial and material age nations closely knit in economic agreement are least likely to fall out.

To cross the gulf which threatens to divide East from West, a bridge is necessary. 400 millions of the most virile Asiatics may well form the buttress to support the bridge on the Asiatic side of the gulf. These teeming millions are for the present free from any strong anti-European propaganda. How long they will remain so remains to be seen.

The opportunity to help create a China friendly to Europe still exists. If the opportunity is let slip, it is Europe, not China, who will be to blame.

There remains to be discussed the second of the two steps suggested for securing peace in the Asiatic world: the revision of the Treaty of Sèvres and the adoption by the Allies of a reconsidered policy towards Turkey.\*

It is imperative to call attention to the vital danger further delay in this direction involves. There are those who, in all honesty of purpose, maintain an attitude of invincible irreconcilability towards the Turk. But have they seriously considered what the continuation of such an attitude upon the part of the Allies means to the future peace of the world?

Looked at objectively, is there not another side to the

\* Written in August, 1922.

question of whether Turkey should survive as a European Power? Apart from the ethical point of view, which bids all good Christians forgive those who have offended, and not once only, there is a more direct and practical reason for rewriting the Treaty of Sèvres.

It is a mere platitude to repeat that Indian unrest, as well as unrest in other parts of Asia and Africa, centres round the question of Islam, the Caliphate, and the Allied treatment of Turkey.

"The East, the birthplace of the religions which reign in the West, has for very many years regarded man's faith as being of greater importance than his blood, which, like his speech, was a matter largely out of his control, and accordingly divided its inhabitants according to their religions."\*

It is this interference with their faith in the person of the Caliph which, from the Muslim point of view, is the root of resistance to the Treaty of Sèvres. It is the fate of Turkey which so deeply stirs the East and Islam to-day.

"Before the war we had happily no responsibility for the protection of the Holy Places. During the war, by our patronage of the Sherifian family of Mecca, we came to be regarded as the opponents of the Sultan's Caliphate. To-day the Government of India openly advocates recognition of the Sultan as Caliph, and, on March 30, Lord Curzon, in the House of Lords, went so far as to describe the Sultan as Caliph.

"But what the West fails to see is that Islam now holds us responsible *de facto* for the protection of the Holy Places. We are regarded as the heirs who have succeeded to the Kaiser's well-known hopes of becoming the Christian overlord of the Holy Places of Islam. The Sherifian family, unfavourably known from Samarcand to Mogador to successive generations of pilgrims, is regarded as our instrument. It is we who have enthroned its members in Mecca, Baghdad, and Transjordan. And, in the last resort, the protection of Mecca and Medina falls, in the eyes of Islam, on us—a fact which it resents.

"Before the war it lay with the Sultan to keep the Wahabites from Mecca. And by some miracle of prestige, though the Turkish writ had little actual power in Arabia, he did it. He could never have done it if he had surrounded Ibn Saud by his bitter

\* *Times Review*, July, 1922.

enemies as we have done. And had he failed it would have been no concern of ours. There are many Mussalmans who would bear with more than equanimity to see the Puritan purge of the Wahabites applied to the sinful pilgrim cities of Sunnis and Shias alike. That would be Islam's affair, and would cause such a spiritual ferment as would give the Mussalman world an occupation of its own for long.

"At present it is our affair. It is a liability of which we must somehow rid ourselves."

Here in a nutshell is the Islamic question.

More recently the opposition of East to West has been strengthened by the attitude of the Allied Powers in—as Muslims think—backing Christian Greeks in their suicidal efforts to drive Muhammadan Turks out of Asia Minor, perhaps out of Europe. Unfortunately the boot is now on the other foot, and it is Kemal Pasha and his victorious armies who have driven the Greeks into the sea.

The Crescent has, in Muhammadan opinion, once more triumphed over the Cross.

The extremely dangerous situation which has arisen in the Near East does not require re-stating. Setting aside for the moment the charges and counter-charges by Greek against Turk and Turk against Greek, can Europe afford to antagonize the religious feelings of Muhammadans scattered throughout Asia?

It is not only Indian Muhammadans who have begun to make the treatment of Turkey a racial question. In Egypt and in Africa flooded with insidious Senussi propaganda, the sore is already beginning to fester. In Afghanistan, in Central Asia, to some extent even in China, the treatment of Turkey has become a rallying cry for a new religious crusade. But this time it is a crusade of East against West.

For the Turk and his methods the writer holds no brief. But the present situation in the Near East is fraught with such far-reaching and dangerous possibilities that a word of warning cannot be withheld. If it is found possible to re-draft the Treaty of Sèvres, there is some hope for future peace in the East.

Cannot the coming Conference erect the first arch of the necessary bridge?

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

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### THE FIFTY-FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE Council submit the following Report on the Proceedings of the Association for the year 1921-22 :

In spite of the continued pressure of high prices upon private purses, which definitely led to one or two resignations, the Association has more than maintained its numbers.

The Council would, however, be grateful to Members if they would actively assist by inducing friends to join, and would again appeal to them in this behalf, though it fully recognizes that the affairs of every day are apt to obscure the interests of the Association in the intervals between the lectures.

A sad memory attaches to the last Annual Meeting. Lord Reay, who presided, though never strong, appeared to enjoy his usual share of health, but it was almost the last function which he attended. In him the Association has lost a staunch friend, and if he could not take a very active part in its affairs during his later years, his interest never flagged, and he was always ready with his counsel. In proposing Lord Lamington as his successor the Council are confident that the meeting will cordially welcome one who has been so active and helpful to its deliberations. The Association will be fortunate in having as its President one who is no less keenly interested than was Lord Reay.

Two new Vice-Presidents were added to the list during the year. The Association is honoured by being able to include H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught. Considerations of State prevent him from taking any very active part in a Society which, though non-political, cannot entirely avoid politics, but he has shown that his sympathies are with our



work toward the creation of a wider knowledge of India and of a good understanding between India and England. The Council was also fortunate in securing the consent of Lord Chelmsford to be a Vice-President; he brings with him an intimate knowledge of present Indian affairs.

Turning to internal affairs, the Council has to report that a new lease has been entered into with the Mutual Tontine Association. Unfortunately, the present state of the market has forced them to demand that the Association should pay the rates and taxes in addition to the previous rent. As no other quarters equally good and inexpensive could be found, this stipulation was accepted, but the Association is indemnified by a sub-lease of part of the office rooms to the *Asiatic Review*, whose rent will just about cover the difference. The persistence of a low rate of Indian exchange has seriously affected the income from investments; on the other hand, some compensation is to be found in a reduction of £30 on the printing contract.

The following Papers were read during the year :

*May 23, 1921.*—"The East African Indian Problem," by H. S. L. Polak. The Right Hon. Viscount Chelmsford, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., in the chair.

*June 20, 1921.*—"The City of Surat: our Old Gateway to India," by A. L. Emanuel, Esq., M.A. (OXON), I.C.S. The Right Hon. Lord Reay, K.T., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., P.C., LL.D., in the chair.

*July 25, 1921.*—"The Sukkur Barrage Project and Empire Cotton," by Dr. Thomas Summers, C.I.E. The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

*October 24, 1921.*—"The Leper Problem in India," by the Rev. Frank Oldrieve. Sir Edward Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., in the chair.

*November 21, 1921.*—"The English Boy in India," by the Rev. Oswald Younghusband. The Right Hon. Lord Meston, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

*December 12, 1921.*—"The Liquor Question in India," by Dr. John Pollen, C.I.E., K.-I.-H. Sir William D. Sheppard, K.C.I.E., in the chair.

*January 23, 1922.*—"Castes and Customs in Malabar," by H. E. A. Cotton, Esq., C.I.E. The Right Hon. Lord Pentland, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

*February 20, 1922.*—"Hydro-Electric Power in India," by Arthur T. Arnall, Esq., B.Sc., M.INST.C.E., A.M.I.E.E., M.I.E. (India). Sir Thomas H. Holland, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., in the chair.

*April 24, 1922.*—"Some Aspects of Indian Architecture, chiefly Hinduistic," by K. N. Sitaram, Esq. F. W. Thomas, Esq., M.A., PH.D. (Librarian of the India Office), in the chair.

Those on the Sukkur Barrage and Hydro-Electric Power dealt with matters of great economic interest. Dr. Pollen's Paper on the Liquor Question aroused considerable discussion, in which Mr. Johnson, the American champion of prohibition, took part.

The following have been elected Members of the Association during the year :

Harry Abbott, Esq.

Mohammad Omar Abbasi, Esq.

Khan Bahadur Nawabzada Khwaja Muhammad Afzal.

Arthur T. Arnall, Esq., B.Sc., M.INST.C.E., etc.

Mubarak Ali, Esq., B.A.

The Right Hon. Viscount Chelmsford, G.C.S.I.,  
G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.B.E.

Sir George Seymour Curtis, K.C.S.I.

Charles Peter Caspersz, Esq., I.C.S. (ret'd.).

Raja Sharat Chandra Rai Choudhuri of Chanchal  
(life Member).

Kaikushra Nusserwanjee Choksy, Esq.

- Dr. D. A. D'Monte, M.D., etc.  
 Maynard D. Follin, Esq.  
 Major George Waters Gibbertson.  
 Rev. Herbert Halliwell.  
 Khan Bahadur Saiyid Siddiq Hasan.  
 Khan Bahadur Haji Amir-Ali Md. K. B. Than  
     Khan.  
 Alfred James Kay, Esq.  
 William Kirkpatrick, Esq.  
 Khan Sahib Mohd. Khan.  
 Darbar Shri Ala Khachar, Chief of Jaskan.  
 Sir Havilland Le Mesurier, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.  
 Percy Henry Michael, Esq.  
 Arnold A. Musto, Esq.  
 William Alexander Marr, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.  
 Murari Sharan Mangalik, Esq., B.A.  
 Eardley Norton, Esq.  
 Lieut.-Colonel Patrick Wilkins O'Gorman, C.M.G.,  
     M.D., M.R.C.P., D.P.H., I.M.S. (retd.).  
 A. Badri Parshad, Esq.  
 Leonard Charles Parton, Esq.  
 Diwan Bahadur D. Seshagiri Rao.  
 Arthur Henry Roberts, Esq.  
 Cursetjee Rustomjee, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.).  
 R. Vencoba Rao, Esq.  
 Hugh Charles Sampson, Esq., C.I.E.  
 The Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri.  
 Fateh Mohammed Sayal, Esq.  
 Sir Francis Joseph Edward Spring, K.C.I.E., M.I.C.E.,  
     M.I.M.E.  
 Sardar Sahib Naranjin Singh.  
 K. N. Sitaram, Esq. (Student Member).  
 Raja Manindra Chandra Sinha, M.B.E. of Paikpara.  
 Raja Sir Harnam Singh, Ahluwalia, K.C.I.E.  
 Rao Bahadur Dayabhai Surajlal Thathi, I.S.O., J.P.  
 William Wallach, Esq.  
 Sir Alexander Frederick Whyte.

The following have resigned membership during the year:

Bhupendra Nath Basu, Esq.

Jitendra Nath Bannerjee, Esq.

Nawab Akeel Jung Bahadur.

R. Grant Brown, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.).

R. C. C. Carr, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.).

E. L. F. Cavendish, Esq.

H. R. H. Coxe, Esq., I.C.S. (retd.).

R. H. H. Cust, Esq., M.A.

Rai Bahadur Hari Chand.

R. E. Enthoven, Esq., C.I.E.

Nagendra Nath Sen Gupta, Esq.

J. M. Holms, Esq., C.S.I.

The Very Rev. W. H. Hutton, Dean of Winchester.

C. Carkeet James, Esq.

A. D. Jackson, Esq.

Colonel T. C. Jones.

Haziq-ul-Mulk Hakim Mohammed Ajmal Khan.

Professor D. S. Margoliouth, M.A.

A. J. Newbould, Esq.

Rev. Paul Nichols.

H. M. Percival, Esq.

Lady Violet Pinhey.

Colonel William Frank Smith.

Lieut.-Colonel F. S. Terry.

Sir Thomas R. J. Ward, C.I.E., M.V.O.

Lieut.-Colonel C. L. Swaine, I.M.S. (retd.).

Raja Bahadur Bhupendra Narayan Sinha, of Nashipur.

The Council regret to announce the death of the following Members:

Sir Bhagwati Prasad Singh Bahadur, K.C.I.E.,  
Maharaja of Balrampur.

Sir Walter C. Hughes, C.I.E.

Kawasji Dadabhoy Hormasji Dubash, Esq.

Right Rev. James Macarthur, D.D.

James McDonald, Esq.

Raja Partab Bahadur Singh, C.I.E., Raja of Partabgarh.

John Gerald Ritchie, Esq.

Nawab Sahib Mir Ghulam Ali Khan Bahadur of Banganapalle.

Of these Sir W. Hughes was a Member of Council, though of late years he was unable to attend meetings.

The following Members of Council retire by rotation :

The Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, C.I.E.

Sir Arundel T. Arundel, K.C.S.I.

G. Owen Dunn, Esq., O.B.E.

Henry Marsh, Esq.

Sir Henry Procter.

N. C. Sen, Esq., O.B.E.

These gentlemen, except Mr. Dunn, who has resigned, are willing, if re-elected, to continue to serve, and it is open to any Member of the Association to propose any candidate for election to Council.

The Accounts show a balance of £136 18s. 7d. as compared with £378 11s. 5d. last year. The actual balance to credit is, however, £336 18s. 7d., but in accordance with the resolution of the Council £200 has been placed in deposit to be withdrawn at short notice as occasion requires. Our income accrues mainly at the beginning of the year, and it was resolved not to let the money lie idle even though the profit is not large.

#### BALANCE SHEET, APRIL 30, 1922

ASSETS.	LIABILITIES.
Investments in India: Govern- ment Promissory Notes for Rupees 92,400 ... £3,511 0 0 Library and Furniture ... 300 0 0 War Loan ... 305 2 3 Balance of Bank and Cash Account ... 139 1 8½ Deposit Account ... 200 0 0	
£4,455 3 11½	£4,455 3 11½
Examined and found correct.	

F. R. SCATCHERD, Member of Council.  
G. M. RYAN, Member of Association.

STANLEY P. RICE, Hon. Secretary.

June 2, 1922.

## ANNUAL MEETING

THE Fifty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the East India Association was held on Monday, June 26, 1922, at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S W, when the Report and Accounts were presented

Sir Krishna G Gupta, KCSI (Vice Chairman of Council of the Association), was in the Chair, and the following members, among others, were present Sir Mancherjee M Bhownaggee, KCIF, Sir William Owens Clark, Sir Duncan J Macpherson, CIE, Mr J B Pennington, Mr. F J P Richter, Mrs Jackson, Miss F. R. Scatterd, Mr G M Ryan, Dr Thos Summers, C.I.E., Captain A. H Roberts, Mr K Sitaram, Mr K. P Kotval, Colonel F S Terry, Colonel A S Roberts, Miss Beadon, Mr F H Brown, C.I.E., and Mr Stanley P Rice, Hon Secretary

Mr STANLEY RICE Ladies and gentlemen, before we begin the regular proceedings, I propose to read to you the short address which has been sent to the Prince of Wales on his return from the East, which is signed by Lord Lamington, and also the reply of the Prince of Wales

(The letter of address and the Prince of Wales's reply were read )

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, we are assembled here on the occasion of our Fifty Fifth Annual Meeting. The Report is already before you We have, of course, to deplore the death of many of our most esteemed members, amongst them being Lord Reay, who for many years occupied the distinguished position of President of the Association. Most of you are acquainted with the good work that he did during his long period as President for the Association, he was keenly interested in its welfare, and, even when the infirmities of age were pressing upon him, he did not miss any occasion when he could possibly be present to come here and to encourage us with his presence, and, even when he could not come, his wise guidance was always at our disposal, and he was ever ready to give us the benefit of his advice It is a sad loss to us which we all very much regret.

I have the pleasure of announcing that we have secured the services of Lord Lamington as President of this Association. (Applause) Lord Lamington has already been associated with us for some time, and we all know the keen interest which he takes in the work of the Association, and we have no doubt that his acceptance of the office of President is valuable to us all

The deaths of other members are mentioned in the Report, with many of whom I was not personally acquainted, Dr Pollen, our late Secretary, sent me a letter with a reference to some of them Unfortunately, I have mislaid that letter, but I believe the same sentiments are expressed in a letter from Dr Pollen to Miss Scatterd

(The letter was read.)

Among the names mentioned in the Report you will see that we have lost several distinguished members of this institution.

As has already been mentioned in Dr. Pollen's letter, we have been able to get the consent of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught and of Lord Chelmsford to be Vice-Presidents of the Association. The Duke of Connaught was in India a year ago, and, by his sympathetic speeches and his general demeanour, fully evinced his interest in India, as I witnessed it myself during his visit to Calcutta, and I am glad that he has consented to be a Vice-President. We know that he cannot take any active part in our proceedings, but it is something to know that we have the sympathy of such a distinguished member of the Royal Family.

With regard to Lord Chelmsford, I cannot say more than that he is one of the inaugurators of the Reform scheme. I know that that scheme has received much adverse criticism, but whatever that may be, we must admit that both he and Mr. Montagu made an honest effort to remove the difficulties which lie in the path of the good government of India. Whether it succeeds or not will be a matter of time, but in the meanwhile we must all recognize the earnest desire and sincere endeavour made to give effect to Indian aspirations. I am glad that he has also consented to become one of our Vice-Presidents.

With regard to the position that will be vacated by Lord Lamington on his accession to the Presidency, I am glad to announce that Lord Pentland has agreed to be Chairman of our Council. I think we could not get a better man to fill the vacancy.

You will see from the Report that there were eight deaths during the year and the resignations, I am sorry to say, amount to no less than twenty-seven, and altogether we have lost thirty-five members. But, on the other hand, the number of new members comes to forty-four, so that we have a net gain of nine which, considering all the circumstances, is not at all unsatisfactory.

This Association is now more than half a century old. It has gone through many vicissitudes, periods of prosperity, and also dry years; but on the whole I think we may claim for it that it has had a progressive and successful career. It works on the basis of active and sincere co-operation between Indians and Europeans, and with the object of securing the common interests of India and England. Such co-operation and such good understanding between the two peoples were never more necessary than at this critical period of the history of India through which we are just passing, and I hope that all the members, both Europeans and Indians, will join together in trying to serve the best interests of the great Empire of which we are all members.

It is our earnest hope that the Government on the one hand and the popular leaders on the other will so act for the best interests of the country that they will conserve all that is good for both the peoples, and that peace and contentment will be the result of their efforts.

I now have pleasure in calling upon Sir William Clark to move the adoption of the Report and Accounts.

Sir WILLIAM CLARK : I beg to move the adoption of the Report and Accounts.

Mr. STANLEY RICE It is usual to take the Report as read. I do not know that I need read that.

Mr. RICHTER. I beg to second the adoption of the Report and Accounts

(The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.)

The CHAIRMAN Then comes the election of President, which is to be proposed by Sir M. Bhownaggee

Sir M. BHOWNAGGEE : Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen : Since the lamented death of our late President, Lord Reay, who gave a great part of his untiring energy to the affairs of this Association for many years, the Council of this Association has been casting about for a worthy successor to him, and I think they have come to the very wise decision of offering that vacant office to another well-tried friend of the Association, I mean Lord Lamington. Lord Lamington has been no mere ornamental Chairman of the Council of the Association for many years past. Whenever he has been in town, and even when he had to hurry to his duties at the House of Lords and elsewhere, he made a point of coming here, and many were the occasions when he took part in the discussions of the Association on various topics, and contributed the result of his large experience of India in a spirit of genuine sympathy with that country. Therefore, I say that in appointing Lord Lamington in Lord Reay's place, the Council has made a very wise selection, and I now recommend the adoption of it to this Annual Meeting of the members of the Association. I feel somewhat sorry that we have to transfer Lord Lamington from his place as Chairman of the Council to a higher office because it may be difficult to find anybody who could give that attention to, and that active co-operation in the affairs of, this Association which we have experienced from him. But we have every reason to believe that Lord Pentland will make a worthy successor in that respect to Lord Lamington. Let us hope that Lord Lamington, in the higher office to which we now wish to call him, will continue for many years to give valuable and sympathetic support to the activities of the Association, and through its medium to the welfare of India as he has done for so many years past (Cheers)

I beg to propose the election of Lord Lamington as President of the Association

Mr. J. B. PENNINGTON I have much pleasure in seconding that proposal. I would only like to say that I have known Lord Lamington ever since he joined the Association, and he has always been most useful and helpful. I might just add that he once said it was the only Association with which he was concerned and acquainted which seemed always successful.

The CHAIRMAN It has been proposed and seconded that Lord Lamington be elected as President of the Association

(The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously)

Mr. STANLEY RICE Lord Lamington having been elected President by you, I may first of all remark that his Royal Highness the Duke of



Connaught has shown already how much interest he takes in this Association by asking me to inform him who was finally elected President, and I shall, of course, carry out his wishes.

Lord Lamington having been elected President, the vacancy of Chairman of Council falls in, and I have much pleasure in proposing the name (which you have already heard) of Lord Pentland. Lord Pentland does not often come to our meetings, perhaps, but I happen to know that he takes a very considerable interest in our doings. I meet him fairly frequently, and he nearly always asks after our welfare. You will also remember that not very long ago he inaugurated the kind of entertainment that I propose to give this afternoon on behalf of the Association, it was he who first asked the Association to a party to meet Lord Reading just before Lord Reading went to India. I may also say that for all the papers that we have had, I have never found any Chairman who has been so keen to obtain a good audience, and to circulate so freely the notices of the paper, as Lord Pentland was on the occasion of Mr. Cotton's paper on "Castes and Customs in Malabar," at which he took the Chair. Both Lord and Lady Pentland laid themselves out to make out a long list of friends with addresses to whom I could write to give them the chance of coming here to hear the paper, and the result, I think, on that occasion, was that we had an attendance which was almost a record. So that I am quite sure (and I should certainly congratulate myself) that you will all welcome Lord Pentland as Chairman of our Council.

Mrs SCATCHERD I have the greatest pleasure in seconding that. I can endorse all that our Hon. Secretary has said, and I could add a great deal more, but time is getting on, so I will not do more than say that I would like you to confirm the election of Lord Pentland as our Chairman (The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.)

The CHAIRMAN There is now the election of members of Council.

Mr. RYAN I have much pleasure in moving the re-election of those members of the Council who require re-election.

Mr J. B. PENNINGTON I have much pleasure in seconding that resolution.

(The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.)

Mr STANLEY RICE Ladies and gentlemen, I think that concludes the proceedings for this afternoon, at any rate the formal proceedings, and I should like before we leave to move a hearty vote of thanks to Sir Krishna Gobinda Gupta for coming here to take the Chair this afternoon. I am sure that he will not misunderstand me if I say that we are all very sorry indeed that Lord Lamington could not be with us here this afternoon. Lord Lamington, as a matter of fact, I think, left England on Saturday last for Norway to fulfil a long standing engagement, and Lord Lamington told me himself how very sorry he was that he was not able to be with us here to-day. I move a hearty vote of thanks to Sir Krishna Gupta.

(The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.)

The CHAIRMAN Ladies and gentlemen, I am very much obliged to you.

Mrs SCATCHERD Mr Chairman, ladies and gentlemen. I have been

working in close co-operation with Mr. Stanley Rice—in fact, I have been present at all the meetings of the Council—and I have always found that he has done his very best for the Association, and I should like to propose a vote of thanks on behalf of those who have had to work with him for what he has tried to do for the Association.

SIR M. BROWNAGGREE : I should like to second that. I do not know whether any mention is made of the Secretary's work for the Association in the Report, if not, then I think we should be quite right in proposing a vote of censure on Mr. Rice for a very important omission from the Report, and we shall correct it now. (Laughter.) I can bear ample testimony to the exceedingly careful manner in which Mr. Rice has performed his duties, and I would suggest that this resolution should be incorporated either in the Report itself or in the proceedings of this meeting.

THE CHAIRMAN The resolution for a vote of thanks to the Secretary has been proposed and seconded. I take it that it is accepted by the meeting.

(The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.)

MR. STANLEY RICE : Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen. I thank you all very much, and at the same time I should like to include the clerk in your resolution because the clerk has done admirable work.

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The proceedings were followed by an informal conversazione in place of the usual lecture. The experiment was intended to afford Englishmen and Indians an opportunity to meet on social terms, and was much appreciated.

## THE TENANCY LAW OF OUDH

BY A. SABONADIÈRE, ESQ., L.C.S. (RETD.)

ON January 18 last the Viceroy gave his assent to the Oudh Rent (Amendment) Act, which was finally passed by the Legislative Council of the United Provinces in November, 1921. This calls a halt in an acute controversy. The history of the landlord and tenant question in Oudh is interesting enough, and this new development has an added interest of its own, in that the Act is the first Act on an agricultural subject passed by one of the new and more widely representative Legislative Councils. The historical facts leading up to the post-Mutiny settlements of Oudh and to the Rent Acts of 1868 and 1886 are set out clearly and interestingly in Baden-Powell's great work on the "Land Systems of British India." The tract of country now called Oudh was once the seat of a group of Hindu States, each with its Raja, who left the village communities much to themselves so long as they paid him his quota of produce, obeyed his orders, and acknowledged his chieftainship. Often the leading men in a village were members of his clan. The Muhammadan conquest broke up some Hindu kingdoms and reduced others to vassalage; so, while representatives of some of the old Hindu chieftainships remain, their estates are smaller than the old kingdoms, besides which descendants of Muhammadan tax-gatherers and officials and of Hindu officials of the Muhammadan governments had come to hold large properties when Lord Dalhousie annexed Oudh in 1856, driven thereto by the constant and deliberate refusal of the King and his advisers both to put some measure of justice and fiscal consideration into the government of the land, and to enforce order and suppress private war. Here and there communities or individuals had managed to maintain some

permanent hold on the land in subordination to these new proprietors, either because of their having been descendants or clansmen of the chieftains of former times, or where men of outstanding ability had established themselves in a position of local influence. The Kings of Oudh had employed various methods of collecting revenue, and had gone from one to another and back again. Sometimes they made use of the landholders for the time being, sometimes they superseded these by appointing Nazims, Chakladars, or other collecting officials, sometimes they tried direct management. This had led to several villages breaking away from estates and becoming more or less independent. When Oudh was annexed there were already British districts on three sides of it which had been under the rule of the Company for some fifty years. Till about 1830 the revenue settlements of these older districts had not been accompanied by any full inquiry into former or existing rights, with the result that the rights definitely recognized were merely those of landowners and those of tenants. Only in a few cases were superior rights recognized as being vested in some notable, such as a Raja or Nawab, and in these cases the settlement was made, not with the superior proprietor, whose dues were collected with the revenue and passed on to him, but with the inferior proprietors, who thus became the effective owners. Dr. Baden-Powell points out that this simplification of proprietary rights necessitated the creation of occupancy rights for cultivators of long standing, in order to meet hard cases. So, in what were then the North-Western Provinces, any tenant who had held the same land for twelve years on end got a hereditary right of occupancy in it. Upon the annexation of Oudh it was presumed that a similar system would suit the new province, but, owing principally to the inefficiency of the King of Oudh's rule, the superior proprietors had by 1856 acquired a far more commanding position than had any such landowners across the border. Their estates were larger than almost any in the older province, and their rights extended over a far greater

proportion of the country. Furthermore, one way and another, a considerable proportion of the older proprietors, now merely under-proprietors, if even that, had been deprived of all kind of control in village affairs. And there had been a general refusal to recognize occupancy rights in the absence of a government which cared to enforce them. Thus occupancy rights had been virtually killed in Oudh before the annexation. Not unnaturally the first British administrators of Oudh, brought in mostly from the neighbouring province, tried to revive the rights of the under-proprietors and to see what could be done for the tenants. Inevitably the result was to cause very great and sudden hardship to the superior proprietors or Taluqdars. When the Mutiny broke out Sir Henry Lawrence was preparing the way to mitigate these hardships. Unfortunately the then system of taxation included duties on necessities of life, and the under-proprietor or tenant felt these imposts at once, while the benefits to him of British rule would take time to be effective. And the cultivators of Oudh traditionally adhere to their hereditary overlords. The Taluqdars, or at least some of them, were disposed to stand by Sir Henry Lawrence, and did help him; but once the British force was shut up in the Residency it is not surprising that nearly all Oudh, from Taluqdar down to landless labourer, joined in the Mutiny, actively or passively.

The neglect of the rights of the Taluqdars had not been carried to the length that this general uprising would seem to imply, for Baden-Powell gives figures showing that under 43 per cent. of the villages were settled with villagers and not with Taluqdars in 1856, while the careful post-Mutiny settlement resulted in over 36 per cent. of the villages being settled in that manner. The dominant causes of discontent were high taxation and the destruction of the personal and social power of the Taluqdars by the introduction of careful and methodical administration with Courts to which the humblest could take his grievances. And it is not unlikely that many Taluqdars resented the suppression

of private war. To this day big riots, over boundary questions and other disputes about land, are not uncommon.

After the Mutiny came Lord Canning's wise proclamation confiscating all land in Oudh except what was owned by some half-dozen Taluqdars and others who had stood loyal all through. This provided a clean sheet, and settlements were made restoring the land to those who owned it before the Mutiny, except in cases of notorious treachery or cruelty. The rights of the Taluqdars were recognized, and for the land owned by them the settlements were made with them, reservation being made of the power to recognize under-proprietary rights which might be duly proved. The Taluqdars were granted *sanads* or warrants recognizing their position and binding them to render loyal obedience to the Crown and to assist in the prevention of crime. This effected a settlement of the position of the Taluqdars and of the smaller landowners not being under-proprietors. There remained those of the under-proprietors and tenants, and these had not been settled when Lord Canning's viceroyalty came to an end. His successor, Lord Elgin, lived too short a time to dispose of them, so the task fell to Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence. Sir John Lawrence had served in the early part of his service in the North-Western Provinces, and, when he came to administer the Panjáb, had there introduced a system not unlike that in force in the "North-West," but modified to suit local conditions, the Panjáb being mainly a Province of small cultivating proprietors. Not unnaturally his sympathies went out to the smaller cultivating proprietors and tenants. In a memorandum issued with the text of the Bill which has now developed into the Oudh Rent (Amendment) Act, the present Governor of the United Provinces, Sir Harcourt Butler, remarks that Sir John Lawrence "endeavoured to upset the work of his predecessor." This is a prejudiced way of putting things. Really Sir John Lawrence wished to round off the work of Lord Canning. His ideal was of "a country thickly cultivated by a fat, contented yeomanry,

each riding his own horse, sitting under his own fig-tree, and enjoying his rude family comforts," as is explained in Sir Charles Aitchison's short biography of him. There is nothing in this which would conflict with the entire well-being of the Taluqdars. But the Taluqdars held out stoutly against the recognition of hereditary rights for the tenants. Lord Lawrence did effect a compromise as to the rights of the under-proprietors, but the dues over and above the Land Revenue which they have to pay to the Taluqdars leave many of them but little better off than tenants paying almost a full economic rent. At the suggestion of Sir Henry Maine a special inquiry was made into the rights of tenants, and it was found that at the time of the annexation no occupancy rights existed in Oudh. The Oudh Rent Act of 1868 followed this finding, and, except in the case of cultivators who were found to have held proprietary rights at any time since 1826, but to have lost them before the annexation, to whom a right of occupancy on payment of rent  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. below the prevailing rates was allowed, the tenants of Oudh were declared to be merely tenants at will, liable in the absence of a lease for a term of years to ejectment at the pleasure of the landowner at the close of any agricultural year, with no security for either length of tenure or rate of rent. Simultaneously with, or prior to, the passing of this Act, Government undertook not to create hereditary tenant-rights in Oudh. By the time Lord Dufferin was Viceroy it was found that the condition of the tenantry was deplorable, and after prolonged negotiations with the Taluqdars a new Rent Act was passed in 1886. Its principal provisions were that every tenant had a right to hold for seven years certain from the date of the last alteration in the area or rent of his holding, and that upon the expiration of this term the rent was not to be raised, either to him or to a newly-admitted tenant, by more than  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Ejectments were discouraged by charging a high Court-fee, which in no case could be recovered from the tenant. Only when a

tenant died had the landowner a free hand under the Act. There were provisions enabling a tenant to obtain an order entitling him to make an improvement (the unexhausted value of which he could recover on ejectment) which was reasonable, but which the landowner objected to having made and failed to make himself. But the Act has been a failure. The limitation on the enhancement of rent was easily evaded by charging a premium on readmittance to the holding, or by exacting it from the new tenant. This does not appear on the rent-rolls, so is not brought to account in the assets when the Land Revenue is reassessed every thirty years or so. In well-managed estates things went well enough, but, more particularly where things were left to underpaid agents of no particular character or status, the tenants were still much oppressed. And the Act of 1886 entirely failed to suppress the practice of levying irregular cesses from under-proprietors or tenants. Any excuse served for the levy of a cess when an unscrupulous landowner needed more money. Had it not been for the war it is likely that the revision of the Oudh Rent Act would have been undertaken some years ago. The riots in Southern Oudh in January, 1921, made this revision a pressing question. These riots were due to a combination of causes—war-time conditions, violently fluctuating prices, the non-co-operation campaign, the depressed condition of the tenantry in many estates, and the desire of the tenants to have some chance, as in Agra, of obtaining a heritable right of occupancy, all being among them.

The Bill which has developed into the Oudh Rent (Amendment) Act contained three main proposals in favour of the tenants, namely, first to substitute ten for seven years as the term during which a tenant's rent is to remain unaltered; secondly, to give every tenant a life tenure, to which his heir can succeed only for a very short term of years; and thirdly, to commit the fixation of the rent at the end of each ten years to the Courts, these to be guided by standard recorded rent-rates fixed in "roster years," that is,



at intervals of ten years. The Bill also contained a provision forbidding the exaction of a premium on admission or readmission to a tenancy. Here it may be mentioned that in the sister province of Agra the occupancy tenants escape very lightly. There are cases where the landowners would be able to obtain two and three times as much rent from a tenant at will, and an occupancy tenant tends to become a small rack-renter himself. The law as to the methods to be employed in fixing periodical readjustments of the rents of occupancy tenants leads to these results, and it has been proposed to substitute for it a "roster year" method like that now created for Oudh. If the Oudh Rent (Amendment) Act had contained only the above provisions it would be sufficient to describe it as a statesmanlike recognition of the necessity for putting an end to the hardships of the tenants in Oudh, and to add that it afforded no ground for alleging that the undertaking that no rights of occupancy, that is, of hereditary occupancy, will be recognized in Oudh had been violated. But the Act has some further remarkable clauses. A tenant who does not reside in a village belonging to his landlord can be ejected at the end of his ten-year term, "if the landlord desires to let the holding to a tenant who ordinarily resides in the village in which the holding is situated." This provision is intended to enable landowners to get rid of tenants who are likely to be less in subjection to them than those who actually live on their land. Then there are many landowners who are also cultivators, and even large landowners like the Taluqdars cultivate much land by their own servants and dependants, and with their own cattle. Such land is known as *sir*, if it has long been under the landowner's own cultivation, and as *khudkasht* if he has only lately taken up its cultivation. Land is also classed as *sir* if, after being such, it still is regarded as more particularly the landowner's own, even if he ceases to cultivate it. The Oudh Rent Act of 1886 granted none of the ordinary privileges of tenants to tenants cultivating *sir* land. This bar is maintained in the

amending Act. But that is not all. By a definition in the Act much land not previously *str* is made such, almost all existing *khudkasht* being converted to *str*. This at once adds much to the exempted area. Supported by the Agra landowners in the Legislative Council the Taluqdars further carried against the Government an amendment allowing any landowner to convert further land into *str*, so that the totality of all *str* does not exceed one-tenth of each village or estate. This will mean a large possible addition to exempted land in the big Taluqas. A provision that the landowner might apply to the Court for the ejectment of a tenant on the ground that he is "undesirable" was fortunately cut out in Committee, but this, with one smaller one, was the only real concession on the Bill made by the landowners. Some very proper amendments are made in the law of distress for rent, to meet the case of there being several interests in a holding—for instance, landowner, occupancy tenant, and sub-tenant. The amending Act makes it a little easier for a landowner to eject a tenant who does not pay his rent, but, as there must first be a decree for the rent made by a Court after formal suit, this is not unreasonable. An undue advantage, however, seems to be given to the landowner by a provision which enables the Deputy Commissioner of each District to eject any statutory tenant on the ground that the landowner requires the whole or part of his holding for certain purposes of his own, among which are specified the starting of model farms, dairy-farms, poultry-farms, and the like, or the erection of houses for tenants, or of markets, or the planting of trees. The words of the Act are that "the Deputy Commissioner shall, unless there are reasonable grounds to the contrary . . . authorize the acquisition of the holding or part thereof." The Legislative Council rejected an amendment designed to throw the burden of proof upon the landowner. The tenant is to receive compensation not exceeding four years' rent, but not necessarily so much. If the land is not used for the alleged purpose within two

years the tenant can recover it, but must refund the compensation less a sum not exceeding one year's rent for each year of ouster. The statutory compensation will be far from covering the loss suffered by the tenant in many cases. And what it comes to is that a landowner need only put a low-caste keeper of fowls on the land with some cocks and hens for a couple of years, and then he will have quite got rid of the tenant, and will have the land at his own disposal. This entirely new provision of the law may turn out quite harmful to the tenantry.

The Act enables landowners to get their rents collected by the Revenue authorities, as if they were Land Revenue, if the Local Government sees fit to make the necessary proclamation, "in case of any general refusal of under-proprietors or tenants in any local area to pay arrears of rent." In view of propaganda like that of Mr. Gandhi for "mass civil disobedience" this is a reasonable enactment. A very proper concession to tenants has been that the law in regard to the right to obtain receipts for rent paid has been made more explicit. And now a tenant has the right to make a well on his holding, unless the landowner chooses to construct it himself.

The Act was subjected to keen discussion in the Legislative Council. The Liberal party did their best to secure occupancy rights for the tenants, and to eliminate the provisions allowing holdings to be taken up for so-called improvements by landowners and allowing the constitution of new *sir* land. On all these points they failed, although the official members supported them about *sir*. The solid block of landowners was too powerful, for the Agra landowners in the Council joined forces with the Taluqdars. The only considerable points on which the Bill was altered in favour of the tenants were the elimination of the right to eject an "undesirable" tenant, and the grant of the right to construct wells.

The question of tenant-right in Oudh will probably come to the fore again after the next elections to the

Legislative Council. Most of the tenants are keenly anxious on the subject. On Sir Harcourt Butler's figures in his note on the Act when it was introduced as a Bill, we find that over 49 per cent. of the tenants in Agra have recognized hereditary occupancy rights, and that another 18 per cent. would probably be found to have them were the matter brought into Court, while in Oudh 97 per cent. of the area is held by tenants without rights other than those we have been discussing. This difference is more than considerable. Besides the natural feelings of the tenants we have the non-co-operation agitation, while in Oudh there has arisen the "*Eka*" or "Unity" movement, very largely a no-rent campaign, having a member of a very low and semi-criminal caste as one of its leaders. The leading British newspaper in Upper India, the *Pioneer*, begged the landowners to be reasonable before it was too late, and to concede hereditary rights of occupancy, and, when the Act finally took shape, spoke of the "obstinacy and selfishness" of the Taluqdars. While the Bill was being considered in detail by a Select Committee the Liberal members of that Committee resigned because they considered that the Government both had committed itself to the side of the Taluqdars, and was assuming an unfair attitude over occupancy rights. Actually the Government's position was that it wished the Taluqdars to give way about those rights, but that it could not let official members vote for the rights unless they did give way. Then there was a passage at arms about the failure to send copies of the report of the Select Committee to those of its members who had left it. About the time of the final passage of the Act the newly-formed association of Agra and Oudh landholders—that is, the Oudh Taluqdars and many of the large landowners of the sister province—passed a resolution, which was forwarded to the Government of India, stating that they "bitterly resented the conferment of hereditary rights" on tenants, and claiming that "*sir* rights should be restored and extended," that is, that the area in which tenants can get no rights at all in either province should

be enlarged. In the hope that the Extremists would pat them on the back they flirted with sedition, and showed an entire failure to understand how desperately high prices, the greatest present-day evil in India, can be remedied, by recommending the widespread use of Mr. Gandhi's spinning-wheel.

Recently Colonel Faunthorpe, a member of the Indian Civil Service of some thirty years' standing, who did notable service with the army in the War, has investigated the "*Eka*" movement. He finds that the non-co-operators easily worked upon the tenants in several districts in which many Taluqdars and other landowners compel the tenants to pay rents considerably higher than those which they have entered in the official rent-rolls kept by the official village accountants. Naturally the tenants, who believe, not without reason, that the Courts may support them, have decided to pay, if anything at all, only the recorded rents. These landowners have been habitually cheating both their tenants and the taxpayers, for Land Revenue is a percentage of the rent-roll at the time of settlement. Plainly there are difficult times ahead. Letters which the present writer receives, or hears of, from India, whether from British officials or from Indians, almost invariably complain bitterly of the impossibility of making ends meet even on recently increased salaries. Until some tolerable ratio is reached between income and cost of living, discontent must continue. And the history of the Oudh Rent (Amendment) Act unfortunately goes to show the existence of a spirit of crass selfishness among those landowners who take a prominent part in the politics of the United Provinces. Their attitude is reactionary, and their use of unrestricted authority in legislation might soon remind us of Sir Alfred Lyall's lines, put into the mouth of the Old Pindari, "If I were lord of the ryots, they'd starve ere I grew lean." The cry for a permanent settlement is largely a demand that all unearned increment is to go to the landowner instead of being shared, as now, with the State. Reactionary measures about land may bring about a revolt of the tenantry. On the other hand, it is quite possible that, as

the *Pioneer* indicated, the next elections may bring a majority into the Legislative Council which, actuated by mere repulsion from the present-day attitude of the landowners, may rush through measures going too far in the opposite direction, and creating a different and equally dangerous kind of unrest.

Since the above was written a further report from Colonel Faunthorpe has thrown additional light upon the "Eka" movement. To some extent it is a continuation of the "Kisán Sabhas," or Tenants' Associations, which came into prominence about the time of the riots of 1921. It does not seem to be definitely committed to the non-co-operation movement—in fact, it is drifting away from it. But it is still more clear that the chief fight it will put up will be against paying more than the actually recorded rents. And it seems to be shedding its purely criminal elements, such as the temporary leadership of Madari Pasi, a gentleman some of whose near relations have probably stood in the dock before me, even if he has not done so himself. Latest advices appear to indicate that the landowners on their side are abating none of their claims. The Landowners' Association is doing its best to belittle Colonel Faunthorpe's report, and would appear to have called a special meeting for the express purpose of denouncing it. Some of the language publicly used about the rights of landowners would appear to be more likely to meet with sympathy from Prussian Junkers than from owners of large estates in England. The protagonists of the Landowners' Association emphasize their loyalty to British rule; but assurances that it is the reactionaries who will never desert it are, to say the least, embarrassing to a Government which at the time is being falsely subjected to accusations that it has not really got its heart set on making a success of the system of administration set up by the Government of India Act of 1919.

So far as the question of fair rent goes, in all land except

what the landowners already hold as "Sir," or may be able to convert into "Sir," under the provisions of the new Act, the position of the tenants is now satisfactory enough. Newly admitted tenants succeeding when a tenancy has run out on the death of a life-tenant and the expiry of his heir's term of grace no doubt can still be rack-rented, but the rental will come up for revision at the end of ten years, and the Act of 1921-22 does, as a whole, mark a great advance on that of 1886 in the direction of encouraging good tenants to do their best with their holdings. The provisions enabling a landowner to turn out a tenant in order to take up the land for improvements, or houses, or the like—and one of the specified purposes is "obtaining land for his own cultivation to the extent necessary for the maintenance of himself and of members of his family dependent on him for maintenance"—will or will not work harshly, according as it is eventually ruled that the discretion of the Deputy Commissioner in applying this section is restricted or wide. If the Board of Revenue rules that the discretion is wide, and that no great presumption exists in favour of the landowner, then much depends on whether individual Deputy Commissioners use that discretion wisely, without being unfair to landowners or oppressive to tenants. The ten per cent. rule about new "Sir" land may in many instances give rise to disputes as to which of two or more tenants is to be the gainer or the sufferer under it. But that can hardly happen for a few years to come. Altogether, the general situation as between landowner and tenant will probably remain much as it is in the United Provinces until the next election. How that election will go it would be hazardous to prophesy. The course of prices will have a great influence on many votes. Should there be a succession of good harvests, tension between landowner and tenant is likely to relax. But if hard times continue, the Government and the Legislature may find themselves faced with difficult rent problems in both parts of the United Provinces.

## DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, SW, on Monday, July 17, 1922, a paper was read by A. Sabonadière, Esq., ICS (retired), entitled "The Tenancy Law of Oudh." Sir E. Denison Ross, CIE, occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present: Sir Archdale Earle, KCSI, KCILF, Sir Lionel Jacob, KCSI, Sir John G. Cumming, KCI, CSI, Mr. F. H. Brown, CIE, Mr. Hugh Spencer, CIE, and Mrs. Spencer, Major General F. E. Chamier, CB, CIE, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mrs. Sabonadière, Miss F. R. Scatcherd, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mrs. White, Miss Stewart and Miss Taylor, Miss Hanley, Miss Beadon, Mrs. Martley, Mr. F. S. Tabor and Mrs. Tabor, Mr. E. C. Ormond, Mr. F. C. Channing, Miss Shaw, Miss Partridge, Mr. W. C. Dible, Mrs. Drury, Miss Corner, Miss Smail, and Mr. Stanley P. Rice, Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I have much pleasure in calling upon Mr. Sabonadière to read his paper on this abstruse subject. I do not think he requires any introduction from me. You know he has spent the best years of his life in the very country of which he is going to speak to us, and he knows the tenancy laws of Oudh equally well. I only hope that those who are equipped in the same way will make ready to engage in a little machine gun practice, in order to enliven our proceedings and make London brighter. (Laughter and applause.)

Mr. A. SABONADIÈRE then read his paper on "The Tenancy Law of Oudh."

The CHAIRMAN: I do not know whether I have to press very hard for volunteers to speak, but I think it would be just as well if the discussion is opened by Oudh men, although Bengal men may also join in. I understand Mr. Tabor has something to say, and I will ask him to open the discussion.

Mr. TABOR said he had not expressed any intention of saying anything on the subject, but it had occurred to him that the original difficulty arose to a great extent owing to the settlements being made on preconceived ideas, and not on what was actually found on the spot. The first settlements were made under the idea that taluqdars had no rights and ought to be got rid of, and that the land system of the North-West Provinces was the ideal system, so instead of the settlement officers inquiring what were the actual rights when they went to the villages, they tried to make their proposals in accordance with what they thought were their instructions, for instance, in some villages they found no under-proprietors, and, thinking they ought not to make the settlement with the taluqdars, they made settlements with people who had no rights, but who simply resided in the village. That seemed rather an absurdity, as they had a duty to find out who were in possession of the land at the time. After the Mutiny, in which the Taluqdars were as much up against us as anyone else, the



Government swung round to the opposite policy, and, no doubt with the best of motives, Lord Canning issued his proclamation, which destroyed all rights in land of anyone except the few who had been loyal. Mr. Sabonadière called that a wise measure, but, of course, it aroused tremendous discussion at the time. In his opinion he did not think that a thing essentially wrong could be wise. At that time there were widows and minors who had rights in the land, who could not possibly have done anything against us in the Mutiny, and their rights were swept away. Lord Canning's idea was that they would have a clean sheet, and would give back their lands to the rightful owners. They proceeded to give back the land to the taluqdars by sanads, which put the taluqdars in an extraordinarily strong position, and when they came to give the under proprietors and tenants their rights, the taluqdars stood on their sanads, and that was practically what they still did. He thought that was the origin of most of the difficulty of making reasonable settlements. In conclusion, he asked whether ordinary tenants, such as people paying Rs. 50, were going to have votes, to which the LECTURER replied that he had not studied the point, but he thought they would.

SIR LIONEL JACOB said that he had been very much interested in Mr. Sabonadière's paper, but he had been a little disappointed in one particular. Five years ago Sir Duncan Baillie read a paper before the Association on very much the same subject, and gave a pathetic description of the position of the agricultural tenants in Oudh. He mentioned to Sir Duncan that there was the probability of a great Sarda canal being made for the irrigation of Oudh, and he asked, if the canal came to be constructed, what would be the position of the tenants with regard to the cost of the necessary watercourses and watercourse bridges? Sir Duncan Baillie said that, though the expense ought to be borne by the taluqdars, he feared that it would fall on the tenants unless an Amendment Act were passed.

Mr. Sabonadière had told the meeting about the Rent (Amendment) Act, but he had said nothing about the canal scheme which had been sanctioned and was under construction. The change in the tract of country from cultivation by means of rainfall or wells to the use of canal water would necessitate a great mileage of new watercourses and many culverts. In the Punjab a large irrigation system might have 20,000 miles of watercourses, involving in the aggregate considerable expenditure, and Sir Lionel Jacob asked the author of the paper whether the new Act made any provision regarding the incidence of cost. The tenants being mainly tenants at will, the expense ought to fall on the landowners, but unless the new Act provided for this, he was afraid that the tenants would be forced by the taluqdars to construct the watercourses and to suffer the disabilities caused by such procedure. It was unfair that tenants at will, with their insecurity of tenure, should bear the burden of work which meant permanent benefit to the land.

MR. SPENCER said he had been seventeen years in the Province before he was posted to Oudh. He came last from Bundelkhand, where the people were backward and mostly almost peasant proprietors, so he was very much astonished to find the position of things in Oudh such as it

was. When he was first posted there it seemed impossible to get at the cultivators. The taluqdars and their employees were a kind of blanket between one's self and the villagers, and he must say that, like the heathen Chinese, "for ways that are dark and for tricks that are vain" the Oudh taluqdar is peculiar. He had no doubt that they would find it just as easy to bully their tenants if they wanted to under the new Act as they did under the old.

Sir JOHN CUMMING said that he would like to endorse what Mr Sabonadière had said from a broader standpoint. Up to the eighties of last century, owing to the special formation of the Indian Legislative bodies of those days, there had been a pro-tenant bias, but in the Legislative Councils of to day this did not appear to be the case. It was therefore not a matter for wonder that on the occasion to which the lecturer referred it was not possible to enact greater benefits in favour of the tenants. He ventured to think that after the next election the conditions, at any rate in Upper India, would be different, and that a greater number of the members of the Legislature would be prepared to vote in favour of cultivators' interests. In that case it was possible that the Oudh Rent Amendment Act might have further amendments to the benefit of the cultivators.

Mr. F. C. CHANNING said that as an old Punjab officer he did not want to stand in the way of any Oudh man who wished to speak, but he would like to ask a question. Nearly fifty years ago, when he was a settlement officer of a district near Delhi, where he was engaged in revising a settlement made by John Lawrence, it used to be reported that there was a very great conflict of opinion in the Oudh Commission. The Chief Commissioner at the time was a very strong advocate of taluqdary rights, but there were a number of young civilians who held that the village communities were being unfairly treated as to their relations to the taluqdars. When he read about the late riots in Oudh he wondered, and he now asked the question, whether these were due to village communities in Oudh resenting their position as contrasted with that of villages of originally similar history in the Agra Province. There was only one case in his district which was similar to a taluqdar, and what John Lawrence (the future Viceroy) did there was to make the settlement with the proprietary body with a percentage to be paid to the superior owner, which carried with it no rights of management. He did not quite understand from the paper whether, when the settlement had been made with the taluqdar and there was a sub-settlement made, the control of the cultivation rested with the proprietary body or the taluqdar, whether the tenants held under the proprietary body or under the taluqdar. He added that on the general question in his experience what was found in different parts was a very great difference in what might be called the natural relations of the tenants to the proprietary bodies. In some cases the whole economic life of the village depended upon the rents paid by the tenants, this was the case where the landowner was a non-resident and the land was all let to tenants, here it was very essential that the tenancy should be protected. But there were also cases, and they were those which he mostly dealt with, where the cultivation was almost wholly carried on by the proprietary body, and there

was only a comparatively small part of the area cultivated by tenants, and here tenancy was of very subordinate importance. And in such villages where the tenants were relations of the proprietary bodies, they often paid at the same rates, while men of other castes paid more, and cultivators from other villages paid full rents. The question of the right principle to be applied between owner and tenant had always seemed to him an extremely difficult one. In the Punjab the matter had been settled two years before he joined, and it was only his business to carry out the Act. In some cases, too, special conditions affected the rents. He remembered one Punjab district where the usual rents were so extremely high that it would be impossible for a tenant wholly to live on his holding and pay the rent. What happened was that the population was so dense and the proprietary bodies were so numerous that almost all the tenancy land consisted of what might be called accommodation land—that is to say, a man who had not enough land to cultivate by the labour of his family and his own oxen would be willing to pay a very large rent for the little additional land, which he could cultivate at very little cost to himself. He did not know how far that state of things might apply in Oudh, but if it did, rents fixed with reference to such a standard might be very oppressive. There were also cases in which, in comparing the rents of occupancy tenants with those of tenants at will, it would have to be remembered certain necessary works were paid for by the owner in the case of tenants at will, but not in the case of occupancy tenants. The main questions he would like to put were whether the dissatisfaction of the tenants was as much against the village proprietors where they had the power of management as against the taluqdars, and whether there was a survival of the feeling of the old village communities against the taluqdars.

The SECRETARY (MR STANLEY P RICE) read the following letter from Dr Pollen

“*July 12, 1922*”

“DEAR MISS SCATCHERD,

“I have just received the rough proof of Mr Sabonadière's able paper on the Tenancy Law of Oudh, and it is clear that the old Oudh Land Question, which has been dealt with more than once by our Association, still survives. It would indeed seem that the amount of ignorance on all matters relating to land, which Indian lawyers and law-framers continue to teach themselves, still continues most surprising. But we all know that the one great and perfectly intelligible principle of English law is to make business for itself, and it would almost seem that this principle governs Oudh Land Acts. It would appear, however, from Lieut Colonel Faunthorpe's reports, that the main grievances of the tenants have gone, and that *mayrana* must cease, but that the ryots still suffer from a refusal of receipts for rent paid, and from unauthorized cesses. It is satisfactory to find that the ‘Eka’ movement, which owed much of its force to the Ghandi folly, is now on the wane. As the author of the paper points out (and those who have served in Oudh know), the Oudh tenantry are, as a class, a simple and harmless lot, provided they are left in peace in the occupation of their holdings. The truth is, as I found out in

my inquiries about Lapo, in Upper Sind, the land was at one time, just as in Ireland, common property, and belonged to the cultivator, subject to the payment of a share in kind to the chief man of the tribe (afterwards, unfortunately, called 'landlord'). When there was a crop the ryot paid; when not he didn't. And this was the plan that pleased both chief and cultivator. It is sad to learn from the paper that the landowners, falsely so-called, have been habitually cheating both the tenants and the taxpayers. But time brings strange revenges, and I hope undue advantage will not result from improper extension of *sir*, or improper ejectments, and that it will never pay a landowner to put a low-caste keeper of fowls on the land, with cocks and hens, in order to get rid of the tenant and obtain mastery over the land. Hoping that there will be a good discussion on the paper, and with kindest regards to yourself,

"I am,

"Yours sincerely,

"J. POLLEN"

Continuing, Mr. RICE said that, with reference to what Sir Lionel Jacob had said, that the tenant is forced to pay for the cost of making the channels and bridging, he did not know whether people were aware that there was a movement on foot at present in India for forming Indian Irrigation Societies, of which seven were then in existence. The idea was that the villagers should club together and carry out the irrigation works on the co-operative system instead of by taking the very unpopular Government loan or by taking loans from the village moneylenders, which they had been accustomed to do. With reference to what Sir John Cumming had said, he was inclined to think that the pro landlord attitude of the Legislative Assemblies was a reaction against the pro-tenant views of the Government. Very seldom was any sort of consideration for the landlord heard, the impression always was that the landlord was all right and the tenant had to be protected. It was quite possible that when the new elections had been held the new Assembly would be more pro-tenant than before, but that would be taking the Government view, and it was quite possible that the new Legislative Assembly might think that that approached too near to "co-operation."

The LECTURER, in reply, said that in many cases the original cultivating communities were still in existence, but they had simply been trodden down into mere cultivators or proprietors by the taluqdars. Varying conditions prevailed in different villages. Where there were both taluqdars and under-proprietors, undoubtedly the under-proprietors legally were the persons who had control of the village, but where the taluqdar was powerful and had a representative on the spot who chose to interfere, he thought the under-proprietors would usually find that they had a very bad time if they did not do things in the way the taluqdar wanted them done. In Bundelkhand, which Mr. Spencer knew better than he (the lecturer) did, undoubtedly it was the custom to treat people of the same caste as the landowners on better terms than people of other castes, and he thought there was a distinction made in some cases between tenants who lived in the villages and those who did not. With reference to Sir Lionel Jacob's remarks about the

making of watercourses, he pointed out that the tenant had a life-tenancy only, and it would be very hard to make him bear the cost of making the channels and bridges. In villages which were not in a taluqa, and where a large proportion of the cultivation was done by the landowners themselves, he supposed things would be managed very much as they were in Agra, where he had never heard of any difficulty about the making of watercourses, and he imagined the practice was the same in the Punjab—that the people who used the watercourse constructed it and kept it up. In the villages where there was only one set of rights no doubt things would go through much as they do in Agra, but in taluqdari villages he fancied there might be a good deal of difficulty, and probably the taluqdars would use every means they could to make the tenants pay for the cost of construction, and the benefit of that would go to the taluqdars in an increased rent. Neither the Oudh Act of 1886 nor the present Amendment Act contained anything on the subject of the responsibility for paying the cost of canal outlets, and he could not remember whether the Canal and Drainage Act contained any provision with regard to the matter.

SIR LIONEL JACOB pointed out that when the canal was constructed the life tenant might possibly be an old man, who would have to saddle himself with debt for the construction of the watercourses and bridges, and his son, who would only have the tenancy for a short time, would have to bear the burden.

THE LECTURER agreed with Sir Lionel that it was not right that the tenant should have to bear the cost, and asked whether the Canal and Drainage Act contained any provision about the cost of watercourses.

SIR LIONEL JACOB replied in the negative and said that the cost was meant to be borne by the owner. He would like to say that Mr. Rice, when he talked about the co-operative movement, had rather misunderstood him. Somebody had got to pay the money eventually, and what he was saying was that it ought to be borne by the taluqdar instead of by the tenant at will, and he hoped that the Rent Amendment Act had made some provision for that.

THE LECTURER said that the Amendment Act had no reference to the cost of making canals, although the construction of the Sarda Canal had been begun. He had not the least doubt that this canal would add immensely to the prosperity of Oudh. With reference to Mr. Tabor's question as to whether tenants paying Rs. 50 would have votes, he had not read the rules and regulations made under the Act of 1919, as he had been informed that they were of a very voluminous nature, but his impression was that the illiterate could vote.

In moving a vote of thanks to the Chairman, Mr. F. H. BROWN said that illiteracy was no bar to the vote, which was conferred on quite a small property qualification. Hence a large proportion of the tenants had been enfranchised. Although Sir Denison Ross might not have made a profound study of land tenures in Oudh, his altogether exceptional command in number and range of the Indian languages must have made him thoroughly familiar with the technical terms which appeared in the paper. Those who went frequently to the meetings of the Association felt

honoured to have the Director of the School of Oriental Studies in the chair, and hoped to see him there again.

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN, in thanking the meeting, said he was very much obliged to Mr. Brown for saving him from a most embarrassing situation, as he came to the lecture as innocent as an unborn babe with regard to the subject. From what he had seen of the taluqdars they seemed very fine fellows, and they looked very fine fellows; but they seemed to have behaved rather badly at times and to have reaped the reward which people of that sort usually had, that they come off top dog. He did not know quite what the "next election" which had been referred to meant, but it seemed to him that if the people in England were more interested in Indian matters, the Labour party might have something to say on the subject; but that was quite beyond his realm. He thought the meeting had been a most successful one in the matter of promoting discussion, and he could only express his gratitude to the members for the vote of thanks which they had accorded him.

On the motion of the CHAIRMAN, a hearty vote of thanks (carried by acclamation) was accorded the lecturer for his lecture.

The LECTURER having thanked the meeting, the proceedings terminated.

## COMMERCIAL SECTION

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### INDO-CHINA: PRESENT CONDITIONS AND FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

BY GEORGES HEBMANN (CHEVALIER OF THE  
LEGION OF HONOUR)

Manager, Paris Office Guaranty Trust Company of New York

At a time when the attention of all the civilized nations of the world is called with particular insistence to the possibilities of developing their own resources and those of their colonies, it should be interesting to cast a glance on a country which, as a result of its geographical situation, the aptitude of its population, and its marvellous natural riches, is called upon to play a part of growing importance in the economic life of the Far East. This country is Indo-China, one of the finest parts of France's colonial estate, and which, within the short lapse of time during which it has been under French rule, has given such satisfactory results, that it could be said to have justified all the hopes which have been placed in it.

#### ORGANIZATION

**HISTORY.**—At the end of the eighteenth century, France had already obtained a footing on different points of the coast of Indo-China, but the creation of this colonial domain, the history of which would be too long to relate, actually dates back to the year 1862, when France occupied the three provinces of Saigon, Bien-Hoa, and Mytho in Cochinchina, which was definitely acquired in 1867, when the three remaining provinces were taken over. In 1863 a protectorate was established over Cambodia, and in 1873 France occupied Hanoi in Tonkin. There is no need to retrace the well-known events which brought about the

signing of the Tien-Tsin Treaty of June, 1885, under which China acknowledged the protectorate of France over Annam and Tonkin. Gradually the pirate bands which disturbed the peace of the country were dispersed, and in 1889 the work of pacification was practically completed. Since that time, except for a few unimportant incidents, the country which nowadays forms the "Union Indo-Chinoise" has enjoyed peace under the liberal rule of France, whose authorities, respectful of the religions and customs of the native population, have striven to gain a whole-hearted co-operation on the part of the latter. That this result may be considered as having been achieved is evidenced by the fact that during the war Indo-China furnished an important contingent of soldiers and artisans who took part in the world's struggle. Moreover, the revolutionary tendencies which became so violently manifest in other European colonies have found little favour amongst the high classes of Annam and Tonkin.

**POLITICAL ORGANIZATION.** — Nowadays the various countries of Indo-China are, from an administrative point of view, grouped together under the name of "Union-Indo-Chinoise." It includes the colonies of "Cochinchina" and of "Laos" and the protectorates of "Cambodia," "Annam," and "Tonkin," to which should be added the territory of Kouang-Tcheou-Wan, leased to France by China for a period of 99 years from 1898.

The Union Indo-Chinoise is administered by a Governor-General, assisted by a General Secretary and a High Council of Government. The Governor-General is the representative of the French Republic, and is invested with numerous and far-reaching attributions. One of his duties is to prepare the Budget Bill, which, however, must be sanctioned by decree of the French President.

The Governor-General delegates part of his powers to Lieutenant-Governors and residents for the administration of the colonies and protectorates respectively.

A feature of the policy of France has been the main-



tenance, so far as possible, of the local administration as a foundation on which to establish her rule. In protectorates the rights of the Sovereigns and of the functionaries appointed by them are always respected. Furthermore, to ensure a smooth working of the French and native organizations, native assemblies have been created to be consulted on the affairs of the country.

**GEOGRAPHY.**—Indo-China covers an area of over 775,000 square kilometres—that is, one and a half times France's area, with an S-shaped coast of over 2,500 kilometres. This peninsula is divided lengthwise by a chain of mountains running from north to south, and separating the basins of the rivers Mékong in Cochinchina and Annam and Song-Coi (Fleuve-rouge) in Tonkin.

These rivers, which at high water are navigable for a large part of their course, serve as a means of access from the sea to the interior of the country and the rich provinces of Yunnan and Kouang-Si in China, which now can also be reached by the Yunnanfou railway from Hanoi.

**ROADS.**—The network of roads in Indo-China is already considerable, and there is in particular a good road which, save for a small portion of about 80 kilometres in Central Annam, runs from Lang-Son, on the Chinese frontier in Tonkin, to Battambang in Cambodia, near Siam, so that in a few years, when bridges or ferry-boats are established on the Mékong and Bassac branch, it will be possible to drive in an automobile from China to Siam along the whole coast of the peninsula.

**RAILROADS.**—As regards railroads, the lines in operation extend over 534 kilometres in Cochinchina and South Annam, 174 in Central Annam. In Tonkin the network is more important. The lines which radiate from Hanoi (pop. 107,000) are the Hanoi-Na-Cham line to the Chinese frontier (167 kilometres), the Hanoi-Vinh-Benthuy line (326 kilometres), running along the coast in a southerly direction, and finally the Haiphong-Hanoi-Laokay line (383 kilometres), built by the colony, but operated by the

*Compagnie Française des Chemins de Fer de l'Indo-Chine et du Yun-Nan*, which built also the extension *Laokay-Yunnanfou*, penetrating into Chinese territory. This last line, in the construction of which the engineers had to overcome the greatest natural obstacles, is now extremely prosperous, owing to the importance of the traffic of the rich provinces of China.

PORTS.—There are numerous small ports, but there are only two so far of real importance: They are Saigon (pop. 83,135), in Cochinchina, which, at the mouth of the Mékong, and with its important fluvial port of Cholon (pop. 226,537), is a most convenient outlet for the products of the rich provinces of South Cochinchina, Cambodia, and South Annam; the other is Hai-Phong (pop. 74,917), in Tonkin, which is on the direct route from Southern China to the sea. In 1919 over 4,000 ships, representing a tonnage of 2,300,000 metric tons, entered Saigon harbour, whereas the figures for Hai-Phong were about 3,400 ships, with 667,600 metric tons, in 1918. Tourane is the port of Central Annam, and later on may assume greater importance when better means of communication to distant Laos are established over the mountainous regions of Annam.

POPULATION.—Indo-China is, as a whole, sufficiently populated, so that its economic development is not likely to be hampered by the lack of labour, as is the case in many new countries. The whole population exceeds 17 million inhabitants, corresponding to an average of 20 per square kilometre. This appears comparatively small; but it should be borne in mind that an enormous area of the country is thickly wooded and mountainous, so that, while the proportion is only 2 inhabitants per square kilometre in the Laos district, 10 in Cambodia, 27 in Annam, it rises to 53 in Cochinchina, and 59 in Tonkin; in the delta of the Song-Coi it even exceeds 333.

The white population, which is mostly French, numbers about 20,000, not including the troops, which before the war were about ten thousand strong.

**RIVERS.**—As already indicated, a salient feature of Indo-China is the great number of rivers which irrigate practically all parts of the country; the largest, the Mékong and the Song-Coi, end in wide deltas, which form the richest provinces of Indo-China. In Cochinchina especially the digging of the canals, which was begun on a large scale by the first military chiefs, and which has been continued since by the successive Governors, is one of the finest achievements which France can boast of having accomplished in her colonies; a consequence of the continuation of this wise policy has been the development of the rice production, which has trebled in the course of twenty years.

The conditions of living of the population have been, of course, determined by the geographical characteristics of the country, and this accounts for the fact that Indo-China is primarily a country of intensive rice growing and of marine and fluvial fishing. The local consumption of fresh fish is enormous, and comes immediately after that of rice, which is the staple food of the population.

#### NATURAL RESOURCES.

**FISHING INDUSTRY.**—In favourable years Indo-China exports over 30,000 metric tons of dried fish and 2,000 metric tons of fresh fish to neighbouring countries, and to Hong-Kong and Singapore especially. As by-products, about 3,000 tons of fish glue and oil are shipped from the colony yearly. From a commercial point of view, Cambodia, with the big Tonle-Sap Lake, is the main productive centre, and it should be mentioned that the renting of the fishing licence is an appreciable source of revenue for the Government.

The fishing industry could beyond any doubt be further developed if the obsolete methods still used by the natives could be gradually replaced by trawling. Though competition may come from Japan, and perhaps from the Philippine Islands, so great is the demand from China that

this country is likely to remain always a good market for the Indo-Chinese production ; at the same time the fish oil industry could be also intensified, and larger exports would be easily absorbed in France or other European countries.

**CATTLE.**—Before turning to the capital question of rice production, we may say a few words of cattle raising. The most recent census reported in Indo-China 3,000,000 head of cattle (including 1,500,000 buffaloes) and 2,660,000 pigs out of this total there are 1,200,000 oxen and buffaloes in Cambodia alone, which, in 1910, was able to export 31,594 oxen and 15,975 buffaloes to the Philippine Islands (33,000 oxen and buffaloes in 1911). However, the prospects of a great development for cattle raising are as a rule impaired by violent epizootics, difficulty of feeding during the dry season, and other climatic conditions.

In recent years an attempt was made to create frozen meat and packing industries ; two factories were established, one in South Annam, the other in Cambodia. In conjunction with this trade, it may be indicated that in 1913 3,139 tons of raw hides were exported from the colony, one-half of which went to France, the other half being shipped to China and Hong-Kong. Exports of manufactured skins are small (783 tons) owing to the imperfection of the tanneries ; but there is the possibility of a great expansion in this line when more modern installations attract the production of the Siamese Laos and of Yunnan.

**RICE.**—The chief source of riches for Indo-China is the cultivation of rice, for which the natural lay of the country and climatic conditions are most suitable. The rice fields now under cultivation cover about 4 million hectares (over 1,500,000 in CochinChina, 900,000 in Tonkin, and 700,000 in Cambodia). In 1920 the area sown with rice was 4,800,000 hectares, but there is still the possibility of recuperating about 1,800,000 hectares. The qualities of the rices grown, when carefully selected and hulled, compare most favourably with the best Burma and Java descriptions, but owing to the fact that until recent years the whole rice

manufacturing was in Chinese hands and the methods generally defective, the Indo-Chinese varieties were generally considered as inferior ; efforts are made now to have selected seeds giving a better yield both in quantity and quality. Three or four years ago two important rice factories, operating with up-to-date equipment, were established in Cochinchina and Tonkin. The native consumption takes up about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  million metric tons of rice yearly ; up to 1913 the production averaged about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  million tons, so that one million tons was available for exports. As production has developed, the exports have gone up from 250,000 metric tons in 1868 (1,286,804 tons in 1913) to 1,619,715 tons in 1918 ; for 1919 the exports amounted to 966,835 tons only. This big decline was due to the rise of the Indo-Chinese piaster, which exceeded that of the Indian rupee, so that rice importers were induced to make their purchases in Burma. These figures show Indo-China to rank immediately after Burma for rice exports ; most of these go to China, Japan, and the Philippine Islands through Hong-Kong. Though competition may become keener, the situation of Indo-China in the middle of a population of over 500 million of rice-eaters is a guarantee of a sure outlet for her surplus. Besides, in the last twenty years export to Europe has been steadily increasing, and France under normal conditions is likely to become an important customer for her colony.

OTHER CEREALS.—Another cereal prospers in Indo-China ; this is maize, which until recent years was hardly known outside Tonkin ; now its cultivation spreads over all the regions of the Union Indo-Chinoise, and it seems to be well adapted for Cambodia especially. Exports, which amounted to only 107 tons in 1904, reached a maximum in 1913 with 133,000 tons, and have averaged 54,000 tons since.

Other produce are manioc, arrowroot, sweet potatoes, beans and peas, the production of all of which might easily be developed in Cochinchina and Tonkin, to leave a surplus

available for exportation to Europe ; there are also numerous fruits—mangoes, mangosteens, ananas, and litchis—but they are mostly consumed in the country, and some years would elapse before export could really become important. A first condition would be to have steamers adapted for the carriage of tropical fruits.

**COFFEE.**—Coffee can also be cultivated with success. Advantages have been granted to planters in the way of a premium paid on exports to counterbalance the abnormal value of the local currency. The exports barely attained 234 metric tons in 1909 ; they were more than doubled in 1919 (534 metric tons).

**TEA.**—Indo-Chinese tea, though inferior in quality to China tea, is generally admitted to be quite as good as the Ceylon brands, and with some efforts to improve the cultivation and preparation methods, it could be made to compete successfully with English and Chinese teas on the French market, which could easily take all the production. Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco, with an annual consumption of 3,000 metric tons, would become also excellent customers.

**SUGAR.**—Sugar-cane growing succeeds in all regions, but great improvements are needed to obtain anything like the 10 tons yield per hectare obtained in Java, the present yield being scarcely 2 to 2½ tons ; however, in view of the enormous Chinese market at the very door of the French colony, it seems that it would be well worth trying to increase the production, which averages only 3,000 tons yearly.

**PEPPER.**—Indo-China is a large producer of pepper (4,000 tons yearly during the war) ; in a certain year the exportation exceeded 6,300 tons, one half of which went to France, and satisfied the whole metropolitan consumption. Nutmeg is also an important product, though the Indo-Chinese variety meets with comparatively little appreciation in European markets (837 metric tons in 1919).

**COTTON.**—Among the textile plants which grow in the

colony, particular attention should be given to cotton. The production is about 9,000 metric tons yearly, 6,000 tons coming from Cambodia, and the rest from South Annam. There are two kinds of cotton: one, cultivated along the banks of the Mékong, which are flooded each year, gives a short staple (18 to 22 millimetres) product, which is utilized on special looms; the other kind, grown on the high ground called "*terres rouges*," of incomparable fertility, is a most excellent product, with a long staple (28 to 29 millimetres), comparing favourably with the American "good middling." Since the war a large portion of land has been cleared for cultivation, and up-to-date ginning mills have been installed with American machinery at Kompong-Cham in Cambodia; they can produce 80 bales of 110 kilos per 12-hour day. There is another important ginning factory at Khsah-Kandal, dating back to 1891, which is in Chinese hands; it treats about 6,000 metric tons of raw cotton yearly, producing 300 tons of oil and 1,600 tons of oil-cakes. The total area available for cotton-growing in Cambodia may be estimated at about two million hectares; but one of the difficulties to be overcome is the lack of labour, for which the only remedy would seem to be immigration of Chinese artisans.

**SILK.**—Silk is another item of particular present interest in view of the keen competition of American and Japanese purchasers on the Chinese market, which render the supplying of European manufacturers daily more difficult. The silk industry was, needless to say, a fundamental one in Indo-China; but the methods applied by the native silk producers gave comparatively poor results. Owing to constant efforts, a material improvement has been achieved not only in quantity (1 kilo of raw silk for 18 kilos of cocoons against 26 kilos formerly), but also in the quality, which can now be assimilated to the Canton first grade; Tonkin pongees are also appreciated. Up to now, the major part of the production was utilized locally, the maximum quantity exported being 101 tons in 1911; but it is considered in colonial circles that the production,

through private as well as official enterprise, could be tremendously increased, for the conditions are extremely favourable. There can be no fewer than five silkworm crops yearly. At present the area cultivated in Chinese mulberries is 8,000 hectares, with an output of nearly 4,000,000 kilos of fresh cocoons and 150,000 kilos in raw silk for Cochinchina and Cambodia alone; a methodical programme is now contemplated through the medium of a company founded by Lyonese producers to bring the production to 900,000 kilos of raw silk within ten years.

TEXTILE PLANTS.—Other textile plants in Indo-China are jute, ramie, hemp, and kapok; plantations of the tree from which this raw fibre is obtained could be developed to some advantage in Cambodia especially. As much may be said of the coconut tree, the present production of coir used for the manufacturing of cordage being entirely absorbed in the country.

Rushes, which are extremely abundant in the seaboard districts of Tonkin and Cochinchina and other marshy districts of the peninsula, are utilized locally for the manufacture of mats; these articles are exported to Hong-Kong, from where an important portion is re-exported to Europe under a Chinese label. In the thickly-populated delta of Tonkin there is a local small industry which uses a number of other plants—rotins, latania, rice straw, etc.—for the manufacture of mats, baskets, furniture, etc.

BAMBOO.—A most interesting use of the bamboo-tree is the manufacture of paper pulp. A factory was established in 1912 at Vietry, and its yearly output amounts to about 3,000 metric tons of excellent wood pulp, part of which is utilized in a paper factory at Dap-Cau. This is only a beginning, and there are large possibilities for expansion, as the bamboo-trees are found in enormous quantities along the banks of the Tonkinese and Cochinchinese rivers and many other regions of the country.

Until now, the soda and chloride of lime necessary for paper manufacturing have been imported from Japan; but a chemical factory has recently been erected at Hai-Phong



for the treatment of salt by electrolysis, and will be able to supply the chemicals necessary at a much lower price.

Other plants providing good material for the paper industry are rice and "tranh," an indigenous herb growing rapidly in all parts of the colony.

Experiments are being made also with the idea of utilizing the pine trees which cover large areas in the wooded regions of the interior.

**ESSENTIAL OILS.**—Among vegetable resources should be mentioned such oleaginous plants as coconut-trees, sesame, ground nuts, ricinus, and soja. In 1914 the exports of copra reached 8,100 metric tons; those of castor-oil were 899 metric tons; soja cakes are excellent as cattle food, and find a good market in England.

Numerous plants are available for the manufacture of essential oils and perfumes, such as citronella, lemon grass, ylang-ylang, cajeput, camphrea, cutch, coca, indigo, etc. These resources have already been exploited, but not nearly to the extent which the possibilities warrant; however, it should be mentioned that badian, the essential oil derived from the fruit of the Chinese anise-tree, shows up well among the exports from Tonkin; these exports averaged 98,000 kilos annually for the period 1909-1913, with a maximum of 240,000 kilos in 1913; the chief market was Hamburg.

**TOBACCO.**—Tobacco has been grown in Indo-China for a long time for local consumption; the native varieties are, however, unsuitable for European taste, and attempts have been made with good results to obtain better qualities. In 1920 certain quantities were imported into France for the Government.

**RUBBER.**—Last, but not least, in view of the possibilities of development which it offers, should be mentioned the cultivation of indiarubber trees. Some twenty years ago, Indo-China exported a small quantity of indiarubber produced by the trees growing in the forests of the interior; but the acclimatization of the *Hevea* has been attempted since with great success, and now practically all the

products exported come from Hevea plantations. The development of this industry is shown by the progression of exports which from 175 metric tons of indiarubber (wild and cultivated) in 1910 went up to 531 in 1918, and 2,976 in 1919 of cultivated Hevea alone. The abrupt drop in the price of the "hard Para" and "Plantation Crepe" on the London market put a temporary check on the production, but it is expected that the Indo-Chinese output may be brought up to about 8,000 tons yearly some years hence, when circumstances warrant.

#### MINES AND INDUSTRIES

COAL.—From the point of view of mineral resources, the fact of capital importance is the presence of coal in Tonkin. There are deposits in central Annam and Laos; but, for the time being, the Tonkin coal mines alone retain our interest. The most important are those of Hongai (operated by the Société Française des Charbonnages du Tonkin), covering 22,000 hectares in the Bay of Along, at 25 kilometres from Haiphong, with three centres of exploitation at Hongai, Hatou, and Campha. The reserves are estimated to be 12 billion tons; but there remains a long stretch of territory to be prospected. The Hongai coal is anthracitous and, as such, ill-suited for shipping requirements. Imports of soft coal from Japan are necessary; but it is hoped that they will be reduced in the future, as soft coal mines have recently been discovered in Tonkin. Other coal-mining concerns are the "Charbonnages de Kebao," the "Charbonnages de Dong-Trieu," and the "Anthracites du Tonkin," but the Hongai mines are by far the largest producers. Their output increased from 257,000 metric tons in 1908 to 576,000 metric tons in 1916 (544,000 metric tons in 1917). It could be easily brought up to 900,000 metric tons and later on to 1,200,000 tons, if the demand justified this development. The output of the other mines is only 150,000 tons. In 1917 the total output of the colony was 653,910 tons, out of which

313,680 tons were exported, the chief customers being Hong-Kong, the Philippine Islands, and even Japan.

The importance of coal for the prosperity of the colony is emphasized by the presence of important metal mines in the vicinity of the coal, thus opening fair prospects for the creation of a metallurgical industry. Iron is found in four principal districts: (1) That of the Red River (magnetite and hematite); (2) that of the Song-Cau (hematite); (3) that of the Song-Bang-Giang (magnetite); (4) the Dong-Trieu mines near Hongai. Some other mines have also been located in Laos, Cambodia, and Annam, but owing to the climatic conditions, lack of labour, and of coal, they are less interesting for immediate operation.

Whilst iron represents future prospects, zinc is already a paying industry. There are rich mines of blende and calamine in the province of Bac Kan in Tonkin: their holding in pure metal exceeds 60 per cent.; the annual output varies between 30,000 and 40,000 tons yearly, most of which is exported to Europe (production, 48,825 tons in 1916, and 42,552 tons in 1917; exports, 38,190 tons and 19,950 tons in the same years respectively).

Other mineral products are tin and tungsten (at Pia Ouac, production 600 tons in 1918), antimony and gold (Bong Mieu—120 kilos gold); manganese ore (pyrolusite) is abundant in Tonkin. Graphite is found also at Quang-Ngai, whence 7,200 tons were exported in 1919.

INDUSTRIES.—This survey of the natural resources of Indo-China shows the wide possibilities of expansion which are opening up for industry there. At present, rice factories and distilleries take the first place. The former are found practically everywhere; they are generally small and operated by obsolete methods. The most important (ten in number in 1913) are those equipped with modern machinery; they are owned by Chinese interests, and are established in the vicinity of Cholon, near Saïgon. In recent years two French companies have been created, the "*Société des Rizeries d'Extrême Orient*" (capital 25,000,000 frs.) and the "*Rizeries Indo-Chinoises*." The rice alcohol which is

consumed by the native population is manufactured for its greater part by the "Société Française des Distilleries de l'Indo-Chine"; the manufacture is under the control of the Government. There are besides a few small distilleries, the number of which is legally limited. Numerous mining concerns are already established in Indo-China, but the metallurgical industry is still in its infancy. It should be mentioned, however, that owing to the fact that the engineering industry is already well represented by the Saïgon Arsenal, the repair workshops of the Messageries Fluviales, the workshops of the Colony Railroads and other private concerns, there exists already an important nucleus of skilled workmen.

The timber industry counts a considerable number of native works. There are also a few saw mills, wood distilleries, and two match factories.

According to official figures, the number of industrial, commercial, and agricultural companies is 74, representing a capital invested of about 256 million francs; there are, besides, 22 important private firms.

This brief review shows that much remains to be done before anything like a rational exploitation of Indo-Chinese resources is really begun; but the fact stands out that the following products, among many others, offer great business possibilities: rice, cotton, silk, bamboo, fisheries, coal, and metallurgy. The country is sufficiently populated to supply the labour which, as a rule, is found pliable and adaptable to most kinds of occupation. In any case, China is near at hand, and could supply any amount of excellent labour.

The remarkable possibilities which are thus opening in Indo-China have not escaped the attention of the French colonial authorities. But whereas, prior to the war, there was less necessity to push on the development of the colony, the new circumstances born of the war are making it imperative that France shall devote more attention to her Far Eastern possession, which could procure her a large portion of the raw materials (rice, cotton, silk) for which she is now dependent upon foreign markets.

## EXPANSION—FINANCES, COMMERCE

A wide programme has been recently established by the French Colonial Minister to equip the colony more fully for its part in the world's commercial future. This programme involves the construction of 2,322 kilomètres of railroad lines, and in the first place the completion of the Trans-Indo-Chinese railroad (Vinh-Dongha section 300 kilomètres, and Tourane Saïgon section 530 kilomètres), then the Cambodia railroad from Saïgon to Batambang, and the connecting of the Tonkin lines with the Chinese railroads; the improvement of the ports of Saïgon, Haïphong, Tourane, and Kouang-Tcheou-Wan; the extension and improvement of the networks of canals in Cochinchina; draining and irrigation works in Tonkin and Cambodia (in the latter region 7,000,000 hectares of land are barren; 3,000,000 hectares are of exceedingly rich soil suitable for rice or cotton growing); the building of dams for protection against the Song-Coi floods in Tonkin; the extension and improvement of the roads, etc.

The funds for this programme will have to be provided by means of loans. But the prosperity of the colony is such that the increment of charges to be incurred on that account is likely to be easily borne. It suffices to indicate in this respect that, according to official figures, the total funded debt of Indo-China in 1920 amounted to 388,643,798 frs., involving the payment of annuities of 18,558,760 frs. As the aggregate expenses of the budget represented 98,830,741 dollars, the annuities necessary for the service of the loans corresponded to only 6·26 per cent. of the total expenses, computing the piastre at the rate of 3 frs.; but as the currency stands at a premium, the present loan charges are considerably below this percentage.

This appreciation of the local currency is not without its drawbacks, as, from the point of view of French expansion, it prevents the inflow of French capital which is so necessary to regenerate the dormant forces of this huge country.

The question of the currency has been of paramount importance since the war. In 1914 the value of the piastre, which contains 24·03 grams of fine silver, was about 2·50 frs.; but the appreciation of the value of the silver metal and the decline of the franc were two factors which in conjunction with a favourable trade balance caused a tremendous rise of the piastre; the latter attained 16·50 frs. (maximum) in February, 1920; subsequently there were violent fluctuations, which in consequence of the difficulties they caused in the economic life of the country necessitated an action on the part of the Government; the latter, rejecting all radical solutions, such as the creation of a gold standard, a reduction of the fine silver contained in the coins or the introduction of the franc as monetary unit, determined that the piastre notes of the Banque de l'Indo-Chine should compulsorily be accepted as legal tender (*cours forcé*), and that the exchange rate with the franc would be fixed from time to time by decree.

A few statistical data will serve to show the development of the foreign trade of the "Union Indo-Chinoise" in recent years:

Years	(In million francs.)		Total.
	Imports.	Exports.	
1913	305	345	650
1919	751	1,051	1,802
1920	1,097	1,181	2,278

Cochinchina accounts for 72·2 per cent. of the total commerce; Tonkin for 24·1 per cent.; Annam for 2·5 per cent.; Cambodia for 1 per cent. All the trade of Bambodia and South Annam passes through Cochinchina.

In 1920 the shares of France and of her colonies in the commercial exchanges with Indo-China were 20·6 per cent. and 1·6 per cent. respectively. Hong-Kong takes the first place, even before France. Important commercial transactions are also effected with China, England, Japan, the U.S.A., the Dutch Indies, and British India.

## INDIAN RAILWAYS AND INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

BY CYRIL S. FOX, B.SC., M.I.M.E., F.G.S.,

*Geological Survey of India*

THE great cry which goes up from Indian industrial areas, particularly from the coalfields and other mining centres, is for better railroad communication and transportation facilities. The lack of railways throughout India has been admitted on several occasions. It is significant that the Government of India appeared on the London market last December in the rôle of borrower to the extent of £10,000,000 at  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. The whole of this money, it is stated, will be used for the improvement of the existing railways in India and in the construction of new lines. A good deal of reconnaissance survey work has already been accomplished, and the construction of several lines has been sanctioned both by private enterprise and by the State.

The East India Railway have surveyed an alignment for a new main line. This is to take off near Asansol or Dhanbad, and follow the Damuda Valley across the Jherria, the Ramgarh-Bokharo, and Kuranpura coalfields and over the watershed in the vicinity of the Aurunga and Hutar coalfields to the Sone Valley near Daltonganj. The line is projected to continue up the Sone Valley, and finally link with the present main line at Katni-Merwara in the Central Provinces. Such a line would open up a very difficult country, in which attractive occurrences of coal, iron ore, limestone, bauxite, corundum, and materials suitable for building purposes are known ; and, in addition, it would tap the agricultural and rich forest tracts of the Palamau district and the States of Sirguja, Korea, Chang

Bhakar, and Rewa. The East India Railway have also sanctioned the survey of an alignment from Hutar, on the Sone-Damuda watershed, for 100 miles southward to Hesla. This line when built will give a southern outlet to the Kuranpura coalfield companies, and avoid the congested area about Asansol and Dhanbad.

The Bengal-Nagpur Railway have surveyed and now contemplate the construction of a line from Raipur, in the Central Provinces, through the wild Kalahandi country into the Madras Presidency, to join their Madras line near Vizianagram. In conjunction with this important feeder line they contemplate building an up-to-date harbour at Vizagapatam. The construction of these two projects will be carried out together. The same railway company have also sanctioned the survey of a 65-mile line from near Cuttack, up the Mahanadi Valley to the Talchir coalfield. This coalfield is being opened up under the management of Messrs. Villiers and Co. of Calcutta. Further north, the Bengal-Nagpur Railway contemplate the westward extension of their narrow-gauge Purulia-Ranchi-Lohardaga line. This alignment is to be carried through the hill country, south of Netarhat and Rajadera, of western Chota-Nagpur, into Sirguja State, and westward across the Birsampur Basin into Korea State. It will finally, after crossing the head-waters of the Sone, connect with the Bilaspur-Katni branch line of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway at Sahdol. The tract of country through which this line will pass is so land-locked and difficult that practically all transportation is conducted by pack animals. There are at least four workable coalfields and other mineral resources in this region, to say nothing of the great grain and forest produce of Sirguja. So important is this area now considered that a special officer has been appointed to determine the lines of railways which are required for the whole Chota-Nagpur region, an area which is bounded on the north and east by the existing East India Railway, and on the south and west by the present lines of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway.



Similarly, the coalfields area of the Satpura uplands in the Chindwara and adjacent districts, further west, are also receiving attention. A reconnaissance survey of the so-called Central Coalfields Railway for this tract has been sanctioned.

Numerous other smaller railway surveys and lines have been sanctioned in India, in Indian States, and in Burma, each with a view to opening up mineral or agricultural resources or for the purpose of developing industrial regions which are at present starved owing to the lack of railway facilities.

The "Report of the Committee appointed by the Secretary of State for India to enquire into the Administration and Working of Indian Railways Report, 1920-21" has the following sentence (p. 7): "We therefore summarize extracts from the mass of evidence we have received, showing that the failure to meet the needs of the country is not temporary and confined to certain places or to certain periods, but universal and permanent."

Coal-mining constitutes the most important part of the mineral industry of India. About 90 per cent. of the total coal production, including all the coking coals, is obtained from the so-called Bengal coalfields of the Damuda Valley region—Jherria, Raniganj, and Giridih. Owing to these fields being fairly close together, any dislocation, due to railway congestion or labour, greatly affects the quantity of coal exported. In 1920 the Indian coal production was 17,082,711 tons as against 21,759,729 tons in the previous year. This decrease of 25 per cent. was largely due to labour troubles. However, there are several other coalfields in India, and as there is an eager demand for coal, one would have expected the deficiency to be made up from the Hyderabad and Central Provinces and other coalfields. That this expectation was not fulfilled was due largely to want of transport facilities; in fact, coal raisings have frequently had to be curtailed on this account. The

demand for coal is increasing year by year ; the present coalfields are not being worked to their full capacity, and, in addition, there are several untouched coalfields in the north-east (Chattisgarh) corner of the Central Provinces.

Metallurgical and other coal and coke consuming works are being erected in India in rapid succession—particularly enormous iron and steel works in the neighbourhood of the Bengal coalfields. This activity has been the result of the discovery of vast quantities of high-grade hematite in the tract from Mayurbhang State westward to the Kolhan subdivision of Singhbhum, and in the bordering States of Keonjhir and Bonai. Railway extensions from the main Bengal-Nagpur railway line have already been constructed, and in some cases are to be duplicated. The importance of this iron-ore region may be gauged when it is said that both the quantity and quality of the ore exceeds that of the iron ores of Mesabi, etc., in the Lake Superior region of the United States of America. The successful working and smelting of the American ores have been entirely due to efficient and cheap transportation facilities.\* The Tata Iron and Steel Company of Jamshedpur have been working some time. In 1919-20 their output was estimated at 50,000 tons of pig iron, 75,000 tons of steel rails, and 60,000 tons of bars, girders, etc., valued in all at about five scores of rupees. It is estimated that this production might have been exceeded by from 3 to 5 per cent. if there had been an ample supply of railway wagons and no congestion of traffic on the lines. The Bengal Iron and Steel Company of Kulti, on the Barakar River, have also been producing pig iron for several years, and during the war they undertook the production of ferro-manganese. Lately both these companies have extended their works and increased their output capacity. There are other newly registered companies whose iron and steel works are either in course of erection or which are very shortly to be built.

\* For several weeks each year the lakes are frozen so that large stocks of ore have had to be accumulated at Pittsburg near the steel works.

The Indian Iron and Steel Company are establishing works at Hirapur, on the line between Asansol and Adra. The plant which is in course of erection is designed for an output of 600 tons of pig iron daily. The biggest company of this kind is, however, the United Steel Corporation of Asia, Limited. They are to build works at Manoharpur on the main Bengal-Nagpur Railway, in Western Singhbhum. A new railway will be built northwards through Hesia to the Kuranpura coalfields. The projected works will at first annually produce 300,000 tons of pig iron and 200,000 tons of finished steel. This output is later to be increased to 700,000 tons of pig iron, and 450,000 tons of finished steel. The erection of the works will be carried out in three stages, and will require the supply of rolling stock on the following scale :

First stage : 492 wagons and 9 locomotives.

Second stage : 4,113 wagons and 74 locomotives.

Third stage : 7,723 wagons and 139 locomotives.

It is natural that with all these schemes in a producing condition India will be a very serious competitor indeed in the markets bordering the Indian Ocean. Further, with such developments taking place, the establishment of works for the manufacture of finished goods, hardware, machinery, etc., will follow. Already various works of this kind have been erected at Jamshedpur.

For many years India has been exporting her minerals under very disadvantageous conditions ; there is, therefore, the immediate prospect of her being able to use these valuable materials and export only finished manufactured articles, thereby becoming an important factor in the Eastern markets.

In view of the publicity given to Indian affairs of late, particularly to the state of unrest, it does appear curious that such great enterprises are being launched by firms long familiar with Indian trade and respected for their business sagacity. It is not too much to say that with better trans-

portation facilities, far better than can be hoped for for some time, India's speed of development would be more rapid than it is. Like other countries, India has been hit by the widespread economic depression; like most industries, her trade has had to face labour troubles; and on top of this she has been worried by the bewildering fluctuations of the rupee exchange. Nevertheless, there is a great desire to press on to the goal of solid commercial enterprise. This requires money, not in lakhs or crores, but in hundreds of crores of rupees. If this money can be produced and utilized in the establishment of railways and the development of industries the future prosperity of India is assured. Something is being done now. The recommendations of the Railway Committee have been approved by the Government of India, and an expenditure of 150 crores of rupees (£100,000,000) is to be devoted to Indian railways during the next five years. The first 30 crores of rupees have been allocated as follows: half for the duplication of existing lines, remodelling station yards, strengthening bridges, and the opening up of lines to certain coal areas; the other half will be devoted to rolling-stock—half of this for passenger carriages, and the remainder equally for locomotives and goods wagons.

These are beginnings in a big way, but the Indian resources will repay a far bigger outlay on railways, if only the work can be carried out with great expedition.

## THE SUITABILITY OF THE PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT TO THE POLITICAL CONDITIONS OF EASTERN PEOPLES

BY WILLIAM SAUNDERS

### III

IT is always dangerous to generalize on questions of politics and economics, and never more so than when one is dealing with the East. If we take the case of India alone, with its population of 315,000,000 souls, with its vast differences and varieties of race, religion, language, and climate, the difficulties in the way of forming a just estimate on any aspect of the question in a work short of a treatise of encyclopædic character and dimensions seem almost insuperable. Yet, from the very nature of the case, it is scarcely possible to arrive at any satisfactory conclusions, even in the most detailed work, without making some such generalizations as will focus the matter into a picture capable of being grasped by one, if not at a glance, at least without having to strain one's visual faculties to any unreasonable extent. In dealing with the East, also, it should never be forgotten that one must think in terms of continents in order to obtain a just, complete, and balanced view of the subject. The national idea not only fades into insignificance, but becomes absolutely impossible, when such enormous political entities as Siberia, China, India, or even Turkey in Asia, are under consideration. Of course, the objection may be raised, Why should it be necessary for such unwieldy Empires to be bound up into single entities at all? The answer to this varies with each particular case, but, as a general rule, it is more or less geographical or ethnological considerations which underlie the fact, and

the historical point of view must likewise never be entirely lost sight of. This is particularly the case with India and China, and while, in regard to each of these great Empires, good reasons may be submitted for the existence of independent component nationalities, yet it is questionable whether their continued survival could be secured apart from the existence of the greater confederation of which they each form a constituent part. But to keep them together some binding force is essential. And the only possible effective bond for an Eastern Empire, as will presently be shown, is the consolidating power of an overruling despotism. It may be mild or it may be strong, it may be laid down upon constitutional lines, it may be insidiously bureaucratic, or it may be harshly autocratic, but a despotism it must be. A fatal simplicity if you will, but as history has shown throughout the ages, the despotic idea has ever been, and remains to-day, a simple necessity in the political conditions of Oriental peoples.

The first great element in the organization of Eastern Empires which necessitates the existence of, at the least, a strong but just and benevolent despotism, and which renders them quite unsuited for the reception of the principles and methods of Representative Government, is the extensive prevalence of the caste system and of racial antagonisms amongst the various petty nationalities and tribes of which they are compounded.

According to Mr. Ardraser Sorabjee N. Wadia, M.A., India never has been, and never can be, a united nation, and all the elements for the creation of a really self-governing community are wanting there. This deliberately expressed opinion of an educated Indian is amply confirmed by every political thinker or investigator who has ever devoted a single hour's consideration to the affairs of the East. It must not be supposed, however, that the average educated Oriental is unfit for the effective performance of an administrative office, and, in point of fact, every office in the legislative structure of our Indian Empire is now open to

Indians, who, as a general rule, perform their duties in a manner both creditable to themselves and beneficial to the Empire.

It might, on the other hand, not be impossible in separate, simple, tribal entities to administer their internal affairs according to the principles of Representative Government, but, for the reasons already given, modern methods are altogether out of the question. A primitive system, similar to the ancient Anglo-Saxon polity of village communities, and the wider scheme of hundred-moots, shire-moots, and Witenagemots, might be possible over areas limited in extent, and could not fail to prove advantageous as training-schools, fitting the people for the reception of a more extended and more complex system at some future date. Such conditions are, in point of fact, not unknown in some parts of the East, but the general political conditions prevailing throughout the Orient at the present day render it highly improbable for any measure of a more intricate character to attain even the smallest degree of success. The better a Government, the more consolidated must the nation under it become. Now, it cannot be too often repeated there can be no question that a reasonable system of Representative Government is, under a good constitution, the best possible arrangement for the ruling of peoples that the ingenuity of man has yet succeeded in devising. But, as John Stuart Mill points out, "political machinery does not act of itself. As it is first made, so it has to be worked, by men, and even by ordinary men. It needs, not their simple acquiescence, but their active participation, and must be adjusted to the capacities and qualities of such men as are available." For its adequate and complete effectuation three conditions, which have already been dealt with, and need not be further amplified here, are imposed; and it is only necessary to state, in connection with the present argument, that "active participation" in the above sentence implies not only the actual doing of all that may be necessary to secure the smooth running of the machine, but it likewise

connotes the subordination or elimination of any element that might tend to prevent or retard its progress. And unless the constituent members of any representative body are all prepared to subordinate the doubtful advantage of securing individual triumphs or intrinsic gains over the other members of the body—triumphs and gains which could only be obtained at the general expense of the greater confederation of which they form each a part—they are not only failing to consolidate the nation or Empire, as the case may be, but are actually weakening it, and laying it open to attack and probable subjugation by some neighbouring despotism. To such a community Representative Government would be, not only not a blessing, but a positive curse, and a danger to the national and individual peace of the district. And India, typical in this respect of the entire Eastern political system, once more, with the possible but problematical exception of Japan, is the outstanding example of this state of affairs.

#### IV

This brings us to the consideration of another great reason why the principles and methods of Representative Government can never, under the present systems, be regarded as suitable to the political conditions of Eastern peoples. The reason is, in fact, a dual one, but because of the bearing each part exercises upon the other it may, and ought to, be treated as a single and correlated fact. This reason—the extreme poverty and illiteracy of the great bulk of Eastern peoples—is, perhaps, the most cogent of all, and requires only the very briefest consideration.

The first and chief necessity of a perfect system of Representative Government is a high standard of ethical rectitude and moral integrity inherent in the people themselves, governed as well as governors. The very basis of the system is the general possession of moral independence and an ability on the part of electors to rise superior to the temptations of every form of alluring but sordid corruption.



But are Eastern peoples capable of attaining to such an ideal of ethical purity? It is a trite and accurate saying that human nature is the same all the world over, and in countries even where the social and economic welfare of the masses is exalted and comparatively secure frequent political scandals are not uncommon. There are few men so wealthy that they have no further desire to increase their store of gold, and unless their political monitors have taken care to imbue them well with the ethical aspect of the question, the danger of a people's succumbing to the temptation of corrupt practices, especially if the tempter carries in his hand a golden inducement to sin, is indeed not only great, but exceedingly difficult to resist. A vote, in the eyes of the poor and ignorant, is such a little thing—and what does it matter, after all, which way it goes?—while a sovereign is not earned so easily every day, and is not to be regarded by any means lightly when it does come along. An independent investigation throughout the most advanced electorate, even in this enlightened country, will show that similar lines of argument are not so uncommon as one would imagine. And when one finds such a state of affairs in a country where work is generally plentiful and wages good, where the most unfortunate are, comparatively speaking, not badly housed and fed, where education is free, and on the whole passably excellent, and where the moral standard in politics is admitted to be tolerably high, what can one possibly expect among peoples who have had no political training whatever, whose poverty is at the very uttermost limit of abjectivity, whose ignorance and illiteracy are proverbial, and the bane of whose existence is the constant dread of alien or official interference?

Such a people are no more fit to exercise the privileges and rights of self-government than are a flock of sheep or a herd of buffaloes. Ignorance is the natural concomitant of poverty, so that the real root of the matter is economic. It is not sufficient merely to make education free, for that

can have no practical effect so long as the labour of the child is necessary to enable the parent to eke out barely a living wage. Thus, it is evident that not only corruption, but a fatal ignorance as well, is the natural and only possible outcome of such poverty as one constantly encounters among the great bulk of Eastern peoples. So long as such economic conditions prevail it is hopeless to expect any improvement in the political status of the people, for to appreciate the mere fundamentals of Representative Government, and to understand the most elementary working of the system, a considerably greater amount of knowledge is required than is possessed by the average Indian, Chinaman, Mongolian, or Turk. And that knowledge, as we have seen, can only come with an improvement in the economic conditions of the respective countries. How that is to be effected is a matter that lies without the scope of this essay, but so far as one may judge from a mere hasty and passing glance it can only come from above, and thus, by placing the masses under greater obligations to their masters, riveting the bonds of despotism more firmly and securely than ever.

## V

Still another factor which at present militates largely against the principles and methods of Representative Government being found adaptable to the needs and capacities of Eastern peoples is the wide superficial area of natural electoral districts with the usually thinly populated nature of the country. While the natives of Western Europe are mostly urban in character, Eastern peoples are chiefly pastoral or agricultural, living in hamlets and villages remotely distant from each other. They enjoy very little and very infrequent intercommunication with each other, and what outlook they have upon life in general, and human activities in particular, is of the very narrowest possible description. On account also of their extreme poverty, to which detailed reference has already been made,

the suffrage would require to be either an extremely low one or a complete manhood one ; otherwise, hundreds of these villages would be utterly disfranchised. That is one difficulty, but even greater obstacles would lie in the problem of how to educate the electors in regard to the political questions of the hour, even if they were willing to learn or capable of assimilating the knowledge when it was put before them, and in the further problem of how to get the electors to a voting-booth in order that they might effectuate their privileges. Even if the Anglo-Saxon system of general assemblies and voting by show of hands were resorted to, it would mean bringing eligible members from enormous distances to attend such assemblies. No man could leave his fields or his cattle for the length of time necessary to travel to the assembly and back in the present prevailing economic condition of Eastern countries, and, of course, it is only the barest fraction of the populations who would take a sufficient interest in politics to make them wish to do so.

## VI

For the proper and adequate working of a system of Representative Government it is necessary that the people for whom it is intended should be a race of open-minded, honest, and public-spirited individuals, a race in whom the general standard of intelligence is comparatively high, whose outlook upon men and matters is serious, and whose points of view are disinterested and patriotic. They must be self-reliant, and have acquired some habits of and training in legislative practice and political thought. Above all, their moral and ethical bearing must be above reproach. It is only by men of the deepest integrity, and possessing the keenest sense of what is right, just, and equitable in their public and private dealings, that the principles of Representative Government will ever find their utmost justification and fulfil their highest destiny. Representative Government is a system which, whatever its origin, has

grown up and attained its completest development in the West. It is thus very considerably a reflection of the peculiar genius of Western peoples. The methods by which its application is effected likewise contain a large measure of the spirit of the West. Here it is bred in the bone and nurtured in the flesh of all of us. We find it difficult to think or act politically otherwise than in terms of Representative Government. And it is not in our public affairs alone that we have employed the principle, but we have carried it into our business and domestic relationships to an extent possible only amongst a people as practical as we British are. There is scarcely a trade or institution in the country which does not employ it in some shape or form; and whether we propose petitioning Parliament, building a church, making a presentation, or attending a funeral, in any dual or corporate capacity, the procedure is the same—representation according to the principles and methods now under discussion.

To the Oriental, however, whose political tenets are bound up in the simple formula that "might is right," the idea of Representative Government is incomprehensible. It is too complex for his simple and unlogical mind. He has been brought up in the school of obedience, and he would no more dream of asserting his opinions against those of his Caliph or Sultan than he would of setting himself up in opposition to the gods of his religion. The character of Eastern peoples, estimable though in many respects it undoubtedly is, is widely different from that of the people of the West. Their caste and religion prevent them acquiring an attitude of open-mindedness, for example; and no one who has any knowledge of the prevailing political conditions could honestly accuse them of ever having shown any degree of public-spiritedness or of being possessed of any measure of political culture. The principles and methods of Representative Government, moreover, are entirely alien to the deep-rooted sentiments and traditions which they have inherited from countless genera-

tions of bovine ancestors, and they have a profound dislike for, and suspicion of, all kinds of innovations. True, there have been many so-called revolutions in Oriental countries, but the people themselves have never taken any active part in them. Such upheavals have really amounted to nothing more drastic than a turbulent change of dynasty, or the substitution of some masterful dictator for a bloated old autocrat whom luxury and self-indulgence has rendered decadent and effete. Even where the principles and methods of Representative Government are found in the East, it is only in very small, restricted, and isolated areas, and there they are probably only survivals of a very early custom of the Aryan race, in which the present system, so characteristic of Western peoples, may have also had its origin. But what is particularly certain is the fact that the present political conditions absolutely preclude the possibility of the system extending beyond these bare restricted areas. What the future may hold for the peoples of the East it is very difficult to foresee; but it may be said, in the words of Yuan Shih-kai, quoted in a recent volume on "The Court of Peking," that "the best hope lies, not in a sudden revolutionary destruction of the old order, but in slow, steady growth by educative processes, which shall enable the nation to adapt itself gradually to its changed environment." These words, although specially applied to China, may be referred with equal force to the rest of the Orient as well, and they may fitly be allowed to conclude, with the promise they hold, such an investigation as this. And at present nothing is more certain than the fact with the statement of which the second part of this essay opened, and with its repetition it must end—that under the prevailing political conditions the principles and methods of Representative Government are quite unsuited to the political needs and aspirations of Eastern peoples.

## THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE CHINESE COOLIE

BY A. NEVILLE J. WHYMANT, PH.D.

*(Late Lieutenant of the Chinese Labour Corps in France)*

MANY eminent scholars have written on China and things Chinese, but mostly their efforts have been directed towards the upper classes—their attention has been claimed by the mandarins, by the high officials. This is perhaps the first occasion on which it is claimed that the key to the psychology of the Chinese race is to be found in the examination of the nature of the humble coolie. For the coolie contains in himself all the characteristics of the nation in general.

Whatever may be said for or against the Chinaman, he is certainly primarily a puzzle. He is a mosaic of bizarre pieces, capable of infinite adaptability, while yet preserving his individuality. While yet being profoundly national, his ability to the end of self-adjustment makes him pre-eminently international. To his varied nature nothing comes amiss, and he encounters new sensations and records his feelings thereon with the enthusiasm of the explorer breaking virgin soil. His primitive clan instincts are perhaps the strongest to be discovered anywhere, and still his devotion to one of another race who studies and knows him well is yet almost as strong. So far as book-learning is concerned he is practically unlettered, but he has a full share of that real wisdom which in life and work is the more valuable.

To come from the general to the particular, I propose to divide my paper into the following subdivisions :

- (a) Pride of Race.
- (b) Histrionic Ability.
- (c) Simplicity of Outlook.
- (d) Duality of Personality.
- (e) Resignation and Fatalism.

- (f) Clanship and Fidelity.
- (g) Emotional Phases.
- (h) Predilections.
- (i) Ambitions.

(a) Of all the outstanding characteristics of the coolie, *Pride of Race* is undoubtedly the first. It needs not the deep classical training of the University to impress upon him the fact that his ancestry is a long and glorious one. The reverence toward the long line of the departed displayed by his parents in the home life early arouses in him a realization of the fundamentals underlying ancestor-worship. In later life it becomes for him a perplexing fact that foreigners are quite content to remain barbarians and do not try to emulate the great ones of the Middle Kingdom. And yet the coolie is not above copying those fashions and points of Western conduct which appeal to his sense of the desirable or proper. Chiefly this plagiarism takes the form of clothing the two extremities in Western fashion. While retaining his own native garb, he will consider himself the last word in smartness if he can boast a new pair of boots and a foreign hat. A neatly mended and quite efficient pair of boots arouses no enthusiasm whatever—they must be *new*, and the happiest and proudest coolie I ever met was one who had spent six months' pay on hats and caps, purchased as opportunity offered when we were near a town. Every kind of headgear from the gay Homburg of the boulevardier to the ordinary cloth cap of the errand-boy made its appearance on our coolie's head according to the occasion, and on the day of the Dragon Festival he appeared in all the glory of an Apache hat, wide-brimmed and complete with flowing plumes! In this he sees nothing incongruous: he is a Chinese, and he fully realizes that his fellows are all over the world, and to his mind a Chinese can do no wrong. One has merely to mention another race in comparison with the Chinese to find the fires of national pride still burning beneath the placid exterior. As an interesting sidelight on the coolie's appreciation of the West, I translate the following conversation which took place in the compound one evening behind the lines, with the sound of distant

firing as an accompaniment : " These guns and aeroplanes are wonderful things. I have not seen an aeroplane in China." " No ; you cannot see what you hit when you fire a big gun like that. There is a devil in it that travels many miles and then kills." A third broke in with these words : " I don't like these things at all. One might kill the wrong people, not seeing." " Still, they are wonderful, all the same," said the first. " I should like to know about them." " No," said another ; " don't you see, these foreigners have to work with the devil to make wonders like that, and nobody lives long with the devils. Because we appease the devils with our ceremonies and presents we are much happier than other people. I'm glad I'm a Chinaman."

The Chinese, moreover, have a belief that they are predestined to continue as a race to the end of time, even as they believe they began with it—that never was there a time when there was no Chinese race. A Westerner may not consider the Chinese, and least of all one so generally despised as a Chinese coolie, qualified to judge members of other races. Nevertheless, the utterances of a coolie on the Japanese, the French, the Americans, Germans, and other races, show a deep insight into human nature. My notes made amongst the coolies contain statements concerning all of these races ; some of them, however, it is politic to suppress. The native's pride of race causes him to base all his judgments on the, to him, axiomatic truth that the Chinese nation is pre-eminently the greatest. But this racial pride is not to be confused with what we know as patriotism—that is to the Chinese mind a thing apart, though also of great importance. The division between these two is something the Western mind fails to appreciate to anything like the same degree as the Celestial. The persistent ceremonial of thousands of years and the deep ingrained conservatism of the race as a whole seems to have bred in the bone of the native a deep conviction that when one member is disgraced the insult strikes to the very root of the whole nation. Thus is explained the solidarity of the Chinese under oppression or upon aggression from outside.



(b) *Histrionic Ability*.—Those who have had occasion to observe coolies during their leisure moments must have been struck by the infinite variety of postures assumed. In point of fact, the Chinaman considers himself an actor of no mean ability, and his confidence in himself is not misplaced, since he can readily assume any rôle which pleases him. The Chinese as a whole are an imaginative race, and the coolie is never so happy as when acting a part. Although his estate is low, yet in imagination he enjoys the rank of a mandarin or hears the plaudits acclaiming his actor's merit.

The prominent native festivals were always religiously observed as holidays in the Labour Corps, and entertainments arranged by the officers were given. The collaboration of the coolies was invited, and there were not lacking those who promised to perform in some way or other, to the amusement of the lazy onlookers. Some paired off for exhibitions of wrestling, and it was indeed strange to see two coolies, very lightly clad indeed, proceeding to the tussle with all the grossly exaggerated gestures and posturings of the professional wrestler. Some again obtained by means mysterious enough chalks, dyes and grease-paints, and made themselves up to look as fierce and repellent as the central figure of a Chinese stage-scene. They played at being doctor, fortune-teller, priest and magistrate, and all with an air of deadly seriousness which amused and yet carried conviction. It was obvious that as long as the performance lasted the participants were tasting the joys of another station of life, far removed from their common lot.

And this histrionic ability is not merely brought into play on such happy and light-hearted occasions. Those who have seen the Chinese as witness, as prisoner or as advocate will know that here, subconsciously often, comes into existence that power to assume a rôle at will. It has indeed frequently happened that the general conduct of a Chinese has been more persuasive and convincing than his tongue.

Passing now to (c) *Simplicity of Outlook*, we happen again on a curious contradiction of terms. Admitting that the vulgarity "as mischievous as a waggon-load of monkeys" so

often applied to the Celestial has in it a great deal of truth, yet the general run of Chinese have very simple ideas on life and its various activities. Their passivity, their calmness under stress of embittering circumstances, their easy valuation of life, and calm acceptance of the phenomena of Nature in general, point to the possession of a nature childlike in its simplicity. To a people accustomed to monstrous tragedies like the overflowing of the Yang-tse Kiang, with its accompanying slaughter; again, accustomed to droughts reducing millions to a state worse than death itself, such things as life and death assume an importance of far less significance than is the case with us. It is, perhaps, not surprising, considering all the circumstances which have moulded the Chinese temperament, to find that the Chinese philosophy of daily life is of a *carpe diem* nature. The moral division of the Far Eastern temperament is not so clearly defined as it might be. That which serves the purpose of the moment is most likely instinctively to be adopted to the exclusion of moral considerations calculated to prejudice the issue. There is no need, therefore, to differentiate between a white or any other kind of lie, since useless falsehoods find no favour with the Oriental. In my duties as interpreter I frequently found that the question of mendacity was a relative one, and only that lie which was likely to serve its purpose was persisted in. One reason for this is that the Chinese hates to be beaten in argument, and will thus hold his ground in any case. The simplicity of the native viewpoint may again be illustrated by the fact that he asks only that his side of the case may be heard fully before punishment is meted out to him. Often from the labyrinth of words and subtle arguments with which his Western judges have been regaled nothing definitely relevant may emerge, or, if relevancy is found, then there is nothing extenuating. But above all is it necessary, if he is to feel that justice has been done, to hear him out to the last syllable. The coolie is then convinced that his words have had their due weight and he has failed, and he takes his punishment like a man. The Chinese vanquished have an admiration for the victor that is whole-hearted and

sincere. Cases there are, of course, where he feels that he has been most unjustly treated, and he will act accordingly. Herein enters (d) *Duality of Personality*. But feelings, outraged or otherwise, must go very deep for that terrible vengeance of the Chinese to show itself. Where it is felt that personal animosity or race questions enter there is indeed a bitterness that beggars description. One such case occurs to my mind. An officer who despised the race from highest to lowest made a target of one particularly inoffensive but unhandsome coolie. This was naturally resented, not merely by the man in question, but by all the coolies generally. A peculiarly Chinese transgression had taken place in the company, and this coolie was nominated as the prime mover. Never before had he shown spirit even before his fellows, being a quiet, easygoing, happily natured worker. But from the first, suspecting the instigator, the coolie displayed another side to his nature ; he became aggressive, abusive, and openly mutinous where this officer was concerned. Terrible curses streamed from his lips whenever he encountered the latter. On the day of the court of inquiry, when he, his witnesses, and advocates were lined up outside the orderly-room, and the prosecuting officer passed within, a perfect tornado of abuse in *English* came from the prisoner ! Later I discovered from conversation in the compound that he had been saving up every vile word used by N.C.O.'s or drivers in difficulties with their horses, and had memorized them as a monologue for some such occasion as this.

(e) The Chinese at heart are fatalists, and their attitude of resignation saves for them much nervous energy, so freely dissipated by Western peoples. Time is a matter of little moment in the Far East, and life is as uncertain as prosperity. An examination of the historical records of China shows long periods of oppression, and not for long at a time has the mandarine of that empire been guiltless of gross extortion and injustice. So far from the law being hailed as the guardian of the poor and ill-used, it has passed into proverbial wisdom as something to be avoided like the plague. Hence the Chinese leave litigation severely alone, preferring rather to struggle

under injustice than to enforce their rights against such heavy odds. Thus, had not the moral teaching and cosmogony of the Chinese tended to emphasize the predestination of things, the manner of events and long custom must have of itself brought about this effect. So long as the average native can manage by ever so narrow a margin to live and have a little leisure for his dreams, he is content not to struggle and to accept his hardships as inevitable. Nor was it advisable to strive to attain high office, for those above delegated their duties, burdens, and censures to you, while those below were plotting and conniving at your downfall, that they might fill your vacated seat. The severity of the punishments enumerated in the old-time penal code brought an indifference to pain and suffering that is the wonder of the outside world. Stimulus and enthusiasm were thus alike to be avoided; better be content with the present than strive after an unknown which conceivably hid greater evils than those of which they knew. Not so much was it laziness which prevented their striving as a nature exemplifying the famous dictum of Horace: "No one desires the unknown."

(f) Something has been already said as to the *Clanship and Fidelity* of the Chinese. It is common knowledge that the early Chinese were clearly divided into actual clans, and that well-defined laws were drawn up as to blood-relationships and marriage. There seems to have been an unerring instinct at work in this connection, and under stress of historical circumstance the whole empire became a family under the Emperor—himself the Son of Heaven—each clan a subdivision of the great family. In the "Great Learning," one of the Four Books, there is a luminous passage showing how the peace and prosperity of the empire depend upon the individual himself, so that each personally is brought to realize his tremendous responsibility to the State. And through the years a new idea is born—an idea that not merely is it one's duty, but a lovable service, so to behave that the benefaction visits the State. So deeply rooted is this idea that it is frequently employed between natives and foreigners. The native is in effect a psychologist—not,

perhaps, academically so qualified, but is, by virtue of his instinct and his accumulated experience, competent to appraise those who come in his path. Once the affection is fixed, there it remains; it is a case of fidelity difficult to parallel. The Hebrews and the ancient Greeks and Romans quote examples of marvellous friendships, but it is not an exaggeration to say that modern Chinese friendships are of a more enduring nature than any known in the West. The swearing of friendship is a ritual, the preservation of it essential, and through all kinds of troubles and difficulties it will hold fast.

(g) *Emotional Phases*.—Contrary to general opinion, the Chinese is an essentially emotional being. His outward bearing has tended to obscure his real feelings, and his calm, sullen demeanour under cruel torture has hidden his innate sensitiveness. One has only to consider the importance given to the idea of "losing face" to understand that the Chinaman hides more than he shows.

A case comes to mind of a coolie who was deemed by the Commanding Officer of his company intractable. He had not only pleaded "sick" on three successive mornings, but had refused food (a most incredible happening). I was asked to interrogate him, and found that he was mourning the loss of his mother. On inquiry of the native interpreter, I discovered that no letter bearing such news had arrived. I challenged the coolie, who, however, persisted in stating that he had had news of his mother's death. Two days *later* a letter addressed to this coolie was delivered at the camp, in which was communicated the death of his mother. The coolie was inconsolable, and three days later he hanged himself in a latrine. Thus is a curious sidelight thrown on the emotional nature of the Chinese.

Another coolie, giving way to the tremendous passion for gambling, not only gave away all he had in liquidation of his debts, but gambled on his contract, which at fruition would be worth between two and three thousand dollars. He then invented an ingenious explanation intended to enlist the sympathies of the white officers, and brought the winner into court on a charge of attack on personal and jealous grounds. His

accusation, after due cross-examination, failed, and he took his defeat manfully.

Yet a further instance. Each coolie, in addition to his monthly pay in France, had a sum paid to his nominee in China. Had he no father, then, generally speaking, he nominated his elder brother as recipient of the money, to guard and hold it until his return. On this occasion a coolie, having no father, nominated his elder brother as trustee for his moneys. A letter arrived announcing this brother's defalcation, and the coolie appeared at the orderly-room asking what could be done. Apparently, the absconded sum was the total of eighteen months' value, and as such was viewed seriously by the Officer Commanding. Finally, the coolie was told that inquiries would be instituted and justice would be done; whereupon he drew himself up to his full height and ejaculated: "You shall not prosecute my brother, sir!"

(h) *Predilections*.—Many stories might be told of the coolies and their predilections. Some had brave ideas of deserting (instead of returning to China, as provided in their contracts) and buying up hotels in London! All this on 3,000 dollars at the very outside! It is difficult indeed to know where to stop in recounting these stories, but if one more carefully considered the existing data concerning China it would be found that, not among the highest in the land, but alongside the lowest, is to be found the key which will unlock the door of the mystery of the Far East.

(i) *Ambitions*.—With regard to his ambitions the coolie is as great a puzzle as ever. What has been said before as to the lack of stimulus and enthusiasm toward any given achievement, while true, yet receives its negation in the wild flights of imagination in which the coolie indulges as soon as a doorway of possibility is thrown open to him. Let him unexpectedly receive money and immediately he projects schemes of a financial magnitude far beyond his means. Praise his judgment, his discretion, and at once he imagines that he will some day be fitted to be chief counsellor at Court. He has ambitions toward the betterment of social conditions only to see his superiors

broken on the wheel of their efforts. He thinks of the Great Yu and his wonderful system which succeeded in draining the Empire, and he himself will be a great engineer even surpassing his illustrious predecessor. And then he sees the foreigner using devices he cannot even comprehend and achieving without difficulty what his compatriots have failed to do through the centuries. In short, in every direction he finds himself beaten back by force of circumstances over which he has no control and cannot understand. Thus is he turned in upon himself, and his philanthropic daydreams are stultified. In this way the ambitions of the native become personal and self-centred, and the lofty ideal of the best for the many becomes a creed of personal satisfaction. And even here he is not excessive—he seeks for himself a little indulgence, a little pleasure, a little learning, sons to cheer his old age, to perform the necessary rites after his death, and to carry on the illustrious name he received from *his* father—and the world may go by. In truth this seems pathetic, hopeless, but in his fertile and active brain the coolie lives the lives of all the great illustrious ones before him; he is many times Son of Heaven, and he rules the world. From the beginning of time he has dreamed, and he will dream on yet through countless ages. Let us leave him with his things of gossamer and sunlight and return to our books.

## THE STORY OF THE "INDIAN ANTIQUARY"—II

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, Bt.

I was unable to conduct the journal exactly on the old lines, because up till then the distinguishing feature of the *Indian Antiquary* was its contribution to epigraphy, relying partly on its own staff and its reputation for the loan and discovery of suitable epigraphic matter, and partly in latter years on the assistance of the Government in forwarding subject-matter supplied by its officers. But the Government decided about 1888 to make arrangements for the reproduction of the inscriptions of the country generally by its own officials, and the publication was to be on the lines established by the *Indian Antiquary*. The decision obviously fell hardly on the journal, and in 1892 an arrangement was completed by which the Government journal, the *Epigraphia Indica*, was published as an official quarterly supplement of the *Indian Antiquary* in the same format. For various reasons nothing was actually published till 1894, but between that date and 1914 ten biennial volumes were produced, and then the European War intervened. After that time two more volumes were produced up to 1920. In that year the old agreement came to an end, and the *Epigraphia Indica* is now a separate Government publication. Its editors have been Drs. Hultsch, Sten Konow, F. W. Thomas, and Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya. During its connection with the *Indian Antiquary* 464 inscriptions were edited and published, together with 624 plates. The *Epigraphia Indica* thus proved itself to be an invaluable aid to accurate historical study, and the *Indian Antiquary* had reason to be proud of such a daughter, although it was always a costly one to the mother journal. Perhaps its most striking result, as regards the future of Indian research, is shown in the fact that its advent caused the modern Indian scholars "to find themselves," and thus not only did it secure an Indian editor, but ninety-one of the contributions, or about a fifth, were from Indian epigraphists. In addition, there were published in it five of Sewell's great contributions to Indian chronology.

Severe as the loss of epigraphical papers was to the *Indian Antiquary*, through the kindness of Fleet and other old friends it was still able to retain its touch effectively



with its old love, epigraphy; on chronology and geography it never lost its hold. In fact, in 1893 (Vol. XXII.) appeared Taw Sein Ko's all-important "Kalyani Inscriptions of Burma," and in Vol. XXIV. (1895) Bühler's "Origin of the Kharoshthi Alphabet." In chronology notable articles were published by Mrs. Rickmers, better known as Mabel Duff (1893), Vincent Smith (1902), and many others; in geography by Stein (1897) and Burgess (1901).

But of course, in the circumstances, the journal had to look to other spheres of usefulness for its continuance at the level it had so long established; and it was not disappointed. Even in 1892 two new contributors of note came to the rescue in the persons of Dr. W. Crooke and Colonel Waddell, each with the first of many contributions on the folklore, ethnology, and religion respectively of India and Tibet, their special fields of distinguished research; and with them there came forward writer after writer on these subjects. Dr. Hoernle began his famous "Studies on the Bower Manuscript" in the same year. Then, in the following year, 1893 (Vol. XXII.), came Sir George Grierson with the first of many tentative articles on Indian literature and the dialects in which it is conveyed, preparatory to his splendid series of volumes containing the "Survey of Indian Languages." Some of them were on the original studies of those working with him. In 1894 Sir James McNabb Campbell's "Spirit Basis of Belief of Custom" began part of its course—perhaps the deepest mine of information in that direction that still exists. Also then appeared my own edition of Burnell's MSS. on the "Devil Worship of the Tuluvas (Malabar Coast)," which I followed with a long series of articles on quite a different group of subjects, a detailed study of Currency and Coinage among the Burmese, in 1897. In 1899 (Vol. XXVIII.) commenced my still longer series on the "Andaman and Nicobar Islands" from many points of view. The year 1900 (Vol. XXIX.) and also Vol. XXXV. (1905) found my account of the "Thirty-seven Nats, a Phase of Spirit-worship in Burma," afterwards made so much use of by Ridgway in his "Drama and Dramatic Dances in *Non-European Countries*."

The contents of these volumes were perforce of a more miscellaneous description than heretofore. Thus, rock-carvings in Tibet (Francke) and in Madras (Fawcett) claimed attention, and so did details of the history and travel of the earlier Europeans in India from myself and other writers. And I must not omit here contributions from Stein, foreshadowing his world-famous journey in

Central Asia. Indeed, it may be said that hardly any section of research, ancient or modern, is absent from the pages of the *Indian Antiquary* during these twenty years. All sorts of well-known names from many different countries appear at the head of the articles contributed: Dwight Whitney, Thibaut, Liebich, Pope, Deussen, Macauliffe, Donald Ferguson, Sir Charles Lyall, Luard, de Millolié, Pereira, Youngson, H. A. Rose, de la Vallée Poussin, Dames, Senart, and so on. The very enumeration shows the wide range and quality of the knowledge brought to bear on the subjects studied.

It was at this time that a new phase in research began to become prominent. Indian scholars in large numbers had become proficient in English and had also become well acquainted with modern European methods and principles of criticism. The pages of the *Indian Antiquary* have faithfully reflected this notable change. In the first twenty years the Indian names are not many, and then chiefly none but the greatest; in the next twenty they increase largely in numbers, and in the last ten they have preponderated, representing quite the younger generation, that has to make its name, as well as the veterans, who are among the most distinguished.

During the last ten years Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, son of the great father, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, has been joined with me as editor, and the journal has been kept on the old lines, with the difference that the bulk of the contributors are Indians, and worthily have they lived up to its old traditions. Especially have they shown a fine courage in investigating such difficult subjects as phases of their own religion, philosophy, and ethnology. The object of the journal is to search out the truth, not to restate prejudices, and in securing this object they have exhibited a fearlessness which is remarkable.

It is obviously not necessary to go as deeply into the story of recent research as into that which preceded it and indeed made it possible. But I would note Kaye's studies of epigraphic numerals (1911), my coadjutor's studies of the Hindu population, and Tessitori's in Gujarati phonology—alas! cut short by his early death. Also Creswell's studies of Eastern architecture (1915) and Turner's phonology of Nepali. Vincent Smith's discovery of Basa's Plays and R. Shamasastri's Chanakya Land Revenue will remind the expert of current controversies. Lastly, I would conclude this all too brief and all too inadequate review of many years of joint work with the remark that the interest of scholars is as great as ever

in the now old journal, and the contributions still on hand as numerous and to the searcher as interesting as ever.

In 1904 the principle of printing books in parts as supplements was commenced, and in this way ten volumes have been produced, and more are on hand on very various subjects connected with Indian research by well-known writers.

The list of contributors reaches a total of 527, every one of whom has been an earnest student of things Indian, the great majority acquiring their knowledge at first hand. These scholars have never been paid for a contribution, and the principle of honorary labour has been consistently followed from the beginning. The editors and proprietors have been generally out of pocket on the closing of the annual accounts, so that all the work bestowed upon the *Indian Antiquary* has been a labour of love, as it ought to be. Everyone, including printers, illustrators, and publishers, seems to have taken a pleasure in contributing, each in his own way, what he could towards the elucidation of the truth in connection with the past of India.

The principles which have guided all concerned are illustrated in the sonnet which I have ventured to address to my colleagues, past and present, so many of whom have not lived to see the journal for which they did so much celebrate its jubilee.

We've struggled, You and I, for fifty years  
To pierce the veil of mystery that lies  
On India's past so heavily, and cries  
Aloud for rending with the searcher's shears.  
We've sought and found no guerdon but the fears  
Unflagging effort brings to him that tries  
And greatly longs, or joy when he espies  
A little light that, dancing, laughs at tears.  
No recompense in kind for you and me  
Shall issue from the light our labours find  
To guide the realm's activities aright  
What of it? Is it not enough that we  
Have won unswerving steadfastness of mind  
To reach the day that waits upon the night?

May I add by way of postscript that in order to render the pages of the *Indian Antiquary* as valuable as possible, general indices to the first fifty volumes relating to authors and subjects are being prepared with all the cross-references necessary. It is hoped that the entries in the indices which relate to inscriptions, their dates and find-spots, and also the dynasties and eras concerned with them, will be found to be specially valuable to students in the future.

## CORRESPONDENCE

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### THE FUTURE OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE

SIR,

The subject-matter of discussion would take many pages to deal with exhaustively, but my opinion, quite briefly stated, is as follows : Mr. Lloyd George has rightly paid a tribute of praise to what has been a Service of such a high and understanding character as has never existed elsewhere in the world when acting on behalf of a people of another race.

But in India, as elsewhere, the masses of people who benefit by good administration seem to be overwhelmed by a small section who advocate ideals of nationalism in preference to furthering the material prosperity that the country already has.

The policy should therefore be to reconcile an infiltration of nationalism without destroying the well-being of the population, who are not capable of resisting the pressure applied by the extremists.

There lie before the Indian Civil Service difficulties and many forms of unpleasantness in the future, but I am so convinced of the enormous good that they have rendered India in the past on the one hand, and on the other that it has not been shown that Indians can yet manage their own affairs to the benefit of all classes and sections of the people, that I hope members of the Indian Civil Service will take heart and still help to guide the destinies of the Indian Empire on the path of peace and goodwill. This is only a general view, and I know that in detail the Service has minor points of grievance that require redressing.

Yours faithfully,

LAMINGTON.

## JAPAN AND AMERICA

How to prevent war with Japan is a thought in the minds of many Americans at present, for all who realize the infinite value of peace and the horrible conditions of war are willing to do all they can to prevent anything that will lead to such destructive conditions.

The Japanese are natural farmers, and if Americans would use their God-given opportunities to cultivate their lands, instead of crowding the cities and living in small unhealthy quarters, each one struggling to be a millionaire, not only would questions of high prices be solved, but more healthy conditions would follow, and there would be considerably less land for people who come from other countries to make money out of either by use or abuse.

The Japanese are also known to be very ambitious and energetic. This is probably the result of Shintoism, which was their earliest religion. From this religion they learned to be extremely clean, to live simple lives, and to do with all their might all that they had to do.

After Shintoism came Confucianism, being also a simple influence. Then came Buddhism from China, bringing pomp, splendour, decoration, priests, and incense.

At the period in Japanese history when Buddhism was strongest the Christian missionary entered Japan, sent there by the Christian Churches of America and other countries, and preached the doctrine of Christianity, which is the Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, and goodwill to all. The American missionary carried also the high ideals of the American Constitution, which is fair play to all.

From then till now the Japanese have been slowly turning towards the West, dropping many of their former customs, learning the English language, and accepting the Christian ideas of God.

The relations existing between the Japanese people and their Emperor can be understood by asking a Japanese child what he loves best in the world. He will say, "The Emperor, of course." Then ask him if he loves the Emperor better than his father and mother, and he will say, "The Emperor is the father of my father and mother." And if he is asked what he will give the Emperor he will say, "All my toys and my life when he wants it." These children are not trifling, and travellers who come from Japan claim that the Emperor is strongly inclined towards Christianity.

Now with missionaries, who are one class of people calling themselves Christians, entering Japan and being accepted as citizens and residents, and making promises of brotherly love and goodwill, and another class of people, also calling themselves Christians, who are without interest in the Japanese or any so-called heathens, and lacking the knowledge in many cases that promises of brotherly love are being made, in which they as Christians are being involved, the Japanese finds himself in a peculiar position when he learns that when his people come to America they get a polite invitation to return to their own country, as they are not wanted here. He, of course, wants to know where the trouble is.

To treat the Japanese nation, including the Emperor, as if there could never be any association between them and other people, to retain occupancy in Japan while sending the Japanese out of America, might seem a one-sided condition to people more dense than the Japanese.

The following is a paragraph taken from the Japanese press, printed in the *Japan Magazine* :

"Time was when some Japanese exclusionists thought that the opening of the country to foreign intercourse meant the conquest of Japan by foreign countries. Even after the Meiji Restoration, when the revision of the treaties was being keenly discussed, the late Mr. Ochi Fukuchi, one of the most influential journalists of the day, wrote a book, in which he predicted that if foreigners were allowed to live

anywhere they might choose, the main streets would be filled with foreign shops and the Japanese would be compelled to retire to narrow back alleys. But nothing of the kind has happened. We wonder if the anti-Japanese agitators in America are not possessed by similar bogeys. How can the presence of only 100,000 Japanese in America, whose population totals close upon 100,000,000, be a menace to her? There is no reason why the Japanese should be excluded simply because they are Japanese. We wonder if the Americans are not suffering from the disease of fearing Japan."

If the Japanese were the only people who came to America for purposes of gaining, if they were the only people of whom it can be said some have tainted morals, if they were the only people who sometimes fail in their expressions of Christianity, then perhaps it would be the correct thing to ask them to go away; but while so many other people come here for money, for positions, for personal benefits of all kinds, it seems short-sighted to try to get rid of one condition while at the same time tolerating or accepting the others. Why not have laws fair for all?

EMIL DA COSTA

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## RUSSIA AND EUROPE

SOMETHING very strange is happening in the world. Questions of importance, even of very great importance, are taking place every day, and yet people do not pay the slightest attention to their inevitable results. Very conspicuous, to my mind, is the utter negligence shown by the public to even recent history. Take, for instance, the question of Russia, and the terrible effects for the world, which are quite unavoidable, unless at this eleventh hour there is a fundamental change. We hear and read in the newspapers monstrous facts threatening no less than 150,000,000 people, which are described as if they were quite natural and could be tolerated; whereas a few years

ago, for instance, the whole of Russia seemed to be mad about the building of schools, the improvement of education, the position of the clergy, and the condition of the peasantry. What do we see now? The very opposite of all these noble ideals is enthroned everywhere. Churches, palaces, schools, museums, universities, are destroyed, religion forbidden. Yet in the past the Russian people, not content with looking after their own duties at home, spread their philanthropy even to London. It is within recent memory that the Russian Hospital in London for wounded officers was established at 8, South Audley Street. It was opened by Mr. Asquith, then Prime Minister, in the presence of the Grand Duke Michael and the Russian Embassy. After the ceremony Mr. Asquith thanked M. and Madame Mouravieff Apostol heartily for their generous gift to England. *Tempora mutantur!* Now matters have come to such a pass that conditions have become too monstrous to be credible or even mentioned. Even cannibalism seems to be introduced. Thus public opinion seems actually unable to realize that such things cannot go on indefinitely and unpunished. The same fallacy was to be observed during the European War. People became used to the idea that the end would never come. Then in November, 1918, the war suddenly stopped almost without warning, and nobody knew what to do or foresaw the consequences. To this lack of foresight, it is now commonly agreed, is due the present chaos in Europe. Now, surely, with this eloquent example before us, we will not commit the same blunder with regard to Russia. Nevertheless, it seems that the indications lie in that direction. Who is ready with a policy towards a new and regenerated Russia? Some say that this happy event lies far away in the distance. Was not the same argument heard with regard to the end of the European War?

But in the present case the Bolsheviki themselves, according to *The Times*, the *Morning Post*, and other papers, foresee the speedy end of Bolshevism. When



these prophecies are realized, will not the whole of humanity be again taken by surprise and demoralized? Who will be prepared with a new policy?

When Russia is reconstituted, with God's help, there will be in the Government many new men. Nevertheless, they will have vivid memories. The other day I received a letter from Russia, which is full of praise for the work done for my stricken country by America. Also my friend, Madame Lubinoff, who came recently from Warsaw, where she was struggling to help the Greek Orthodox community, states that no Russian, even among the peasantry, will ever forget the good connected with the word America. I am glad to say that English people, particularly the Red Cross, are also helping in the same way. What would readers say if someone humbly suggested a new combination to assure the world's peace—England, Russia, America, and France?

I should like to refer with pleasure to my own experience of English gratitude when some years ago I was collecting for the starving Tomboff Government. I remember that when I returned to our country place, there I found, to my amazement, that my son was discussing the position with the Committee, amongst whom were several illiterate peasants, who solemnly passed a vote of thanks to the British people.

More than ever the civilized, scientific, and religious element is needed in Russia now, after these last years of bitterest persecution, resulting almost in annihilation. In this respect it seems to me important that England should realize the importance of her own contribution. Otherwise, I am afraid, these posts would fall into the hands of less desirable elements. Here I may quote what I wrote in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* (May, 1916) under the title of "The Unpardonable Sin in Time of War":

"Let us also remember that at the beginning of the war the directors of very many Russian banks turned out to be Germans, who undoubtedly acted in every way in their

own interests. Such banks, of course, support and give credit principally to German enterprise in Russia, and turn Russian undertakings into syndicates in the interests of German trade."

Can we not again see the same "writing on the wall"? There was a time not long ago when my dream was to see Russia and England on terms of closest friendship, and some men who could be described as really great worked for it both in Russia and in England. This work will, when the moment comes, have to be taken up afresh in both countries, with God's help. Where are the great men ready for that work? Upon whose shoulders will the mantle of Gladstone descend?

OLGA NOVIKOFF.

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### "LORD READING'S TASK IN INDIA"

SIR,

In the July issue Mr. Pennington, commenting on my criticism on "Lord Reading's Task in India," remarked that my article was merely to justify "Mr. Gandhi's ideas," but I fairly assure him that my views are not identical with those held by Mr. Gandhi. The main contention of my article was to explain the present political difficulties and to analyze the causes for full understanding of the subject. The European critics generally forget that India, with her illiterate and superstitious population, is not Europe, and Indian agriculturists, over head and ears in debt and with small leaseholds, are not the rich American or European farmers, sufficiently rich to launch agricultural schemes on a scientific basis, and intelligent enough to study the markets and to dispose of their surplus to their best advantage. The case is more serious, as the major portion of the profits of agricultural produce of this country goes into the pockets of brokers and middlemen; the cultivators get only the subsistence allowance. As, for example, the cultivators of East Bengal, who are the growers of jute, and who are

undoubtedly much better off than their brother cultivators in the rest of India, can hardly make much profit from this profitable jute-growing industry. The real profits go either to middlemen, or to the European exporting houses of Calcutta. When India came into contact with European civilization, the first want that she felt was the want of money. The comparatively rich people of India began to imitate the costly European habits, to copy which they had to incur debts. The agriculturists and ordinary people, who remained up to this time contented with simple things, were tempted to use the foreign articles, and to procure them they had to go beyond their means. It cannot be denied that industrialism is already feared in Europe, and in India it has done incalculable mischief. The cottage industries, which were the support of numerous classes of people of this country, have been ruined. Sturdy peasant-folk have been tempted to go outside their villages and to work in mills, amidst most insanitary conditions, on bare subsistence allowance. The rise in price of labour has never been in proportion to the cost of living; the statistics will prove this. On the other hand, cultivation has been left to inferior hands with insufficient funds, the result of which is that India is showing signs of diminishing returns.

This rise in the cost of living has driven the people of India to live below the margin of starvation, and it is an awful truth that a large percentage of the people of this country have to remain satisfied with one meal a day. Is not this fact more dangerous than the periodical famines of ancient India, which affected temporarily one part of the province only? This grim fact and stern realities cannot be lightened by mentioning the fact that some Gujratis, or Persians, or Vantias have grown immensely rich by following the example of the European merchants. It is true that the introduction of co-operative banks has greatly benefited the cultivators, but the scheme is still in its infancy, and will take many years for its full development to be of any substantial help to the peasantry.

The fact is this: that a hungry people is a dangerous thing. India never wants separation from the British Government; she wants food to live upon, and this is gradually becoming very scarce here in India. To pacify the Indian people we have to supply them with food, and to do that we have only two instruments—the restoration of cottage industries and the curtailment of foreign trade. As the majority of the Indian people are poor, ignorant, and immobile, to talk to them of America and science will be useless; but protection, and consequently more work and more food, will be something to them.

It can, of course, never be over-emphasized that the British rule in India has secured peace and security to her three hundred millions of inhabitants, with other blessings; but to make the British administration in India an all-round success, it now remains to make the people prosperous. A happy and prosperous India will be a better asset to the British Crown, and a more able partner in the Imperial Government. To achieve this, the Government of India have to become a little more sympathetic to the feelings and the legitimate aspirations of the Indian people.

RAI LALIT MOHAN SINGHA RAYA BAHADUR, M.L.C.,  
*Zamindar of Chakdighi.*

15, LANSDOWNE ROAD, CALCUTTA,  
*August 8, 1922.*

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“SHINAR” OF THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THE  
“TOWER OF BABEL” IN THE BABYLONIAN  
INSCRIPTIONS

A REJOINDER

SIR,

I regret that I was given no opportunity of refuting in the July issue of the *Review* the intemperate outpourings of your joint correspondents in that issue on my article in the April number, as their misstatements and misrepresentations are calculated to give a false impression, and may meanwhile have misled some of your readers not conversant with the subject and the status of the writers of that letter. These writers give their letter an official character by prominently inserting the name of their departmental office, presumably to gain for themselves an appearance of

authority to which they could not otherwise individually lay claim. But it is a well-known and significant fact that, despite the unrivalled richness of its material, the leading experts and scholars in Assyriology in this country, with the sole exception of two former members of the staff of that office (Dr. Pinches and the late Professor King), have all been found outside that department of our national museum.

First, then, in regard to their assertion that I have no "expert" or "competent" knowledge of the subject, I may mention that I have devoted my entire time during the past fourteen years to the intimate study of Sumerian and cuneiform and allied scripts, and to the history of the people who used these scripts; and in the course of these researches I have personally visited the ancient city under reference, Babylon itself.

Unlike, however, the two professed "expert" writers of that letter, I make no claim to omniscience or infallibility on the subject, but am merely an unbiassed independent student of the History of Civilization, working by recognized scientific methods in the vast new-found field of Sumerology, first discovered within the past four decades or so, and as yet largely unexplored, and in which every year unearths fresh discoveries which necessitate the discarding of many of the old views and theories of Assyriologists. The difficulties of keeping abreast with the new discoveries are not lessened by the fact that these discoveries are published in widely scattered form in countless monographs and periodicals over Europe and America. My would-be critics are no doubt writing with what information they possess or have been taught; but that they are not possessed of all the information on the subject on which they so confidently write is borne out by their own letter, as we shall see.

In their rambling letter these "experts," so obscure, evade and confuse the points at issue, garble my article, and ascribe to me statements which I never made, that it is necessary for me here to remind the reader briefly what this commotion is all about.

As fresh material is discovered regarding the "Sumerians," the highly civilized ruling race of antiquity, who descended from Asia Minor into Ancient Mesopotamia and first civilized that country before 3000 B.C., it becomes sometimes possible to apply the new-found knowledge to the solution of numerous outstanding problems in Biblical and Early Babylonian history and geography.

One of these outstanding unsolved problems was the name "Shinar," used by the Early Hebrews in their Old Testament as a title for Babylon and Babylonia. No name for Babylon or Babylonia, or "Land of Babylon," in any way resembling "Shinar" had been found in Babylonian records. On this outstanding problem the late Professor King wrote: "There is little doubt that Shinar is to be identified with the land of Babylonia, *but the origin of the name has not been determined.*"\* And it has remained undetermined up till the date of my article.

In the course of my revision at first hand of the spelling of historical names in the original texts in the Sumerian and in its derived cuneiform

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\* L. W. King in "Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible," 1910, p. 849.

on wedge-headed scripts, I observed that a not infrequent Sumerian name for Babylon, which is usually transcribed or transliterated by Assyriologists as "*Bab-ili*"—and so leading students of Comparative History who are dependent on the transcriptions of Assyriologists to believe that that word "*Bab-ili*" existed in the text, *where it does not*—really reads by its late Sumero-Babylonian glosses "*Tin-Tir*," and by its own primary intrinsic Sumerian ideographic values "*Tin-Sha-nir*" or "*Ti-Sha-nir*." This latter Sumerian form of the name for Babylon suggested to me that it was presumably the hitherto unknown Sumerian source of the "*Shinar*" of the Early Hebrews.

Further examination tended to confirm that identification. Moreover, the fact that the Sumerian "*Sha-nir*" literally means "The Great Tower of Grain," and with the prefix "*Tin*" or "*Ti*" means "The Great Tower of Grain of Life," suggested to me that the fabled "Tower of Babel" was probably in reality a great State granary. The Sumerians are known to have been in the habit of erecting State granaries as an economic provision against famine, of which the structural remains still exist, as noted in my article. It thus appeared probable that the title "*Sha-nir*," or the "*Shinar*" of the Hebrews, denoted Early Babylon as the site of one of the greatest of these Sumerian "Towers of Grain"; and that in later ages, when its real origin and economic meaning had been long forgotten, the Semites embroidered the floating tradition of the old tower with fiction and legend, imagining that it was a solid tower erected by a proud and godless race to defy the God of Heaven.

It was the account of these observations with confirmatory evidence, in what most people would consider a welcome attempt towards solving the "*Shinar*" and associated "*Kasdim*" problems, and as a contribution to the historical basis on which part of the Old Testament geographical traditional nomenclature seems to rest, which forms the article in question, now the subject of attack by your irascible letter-writers.

I shall now take up the chief assertions by these joint writers in detail to expose their misrepresentations and falsity.

The first remark which has aroused these writers is invidiously extracted from a mere footnote some distance on, and is exalted by them into the chief place, as if it were the subject of my article. It states in reference to the arbitrary substitution by Assyriologist transcribers or transliterators of a different name from that occurring in the texts that "most modern Assyriologists with unwarranted licence transcribe these (Sumerian) signs of 'Tin-Tir' as (the Semitic) 'Bab-ili' or Babylon."

Your "expert" correspondents cannot, of course, deny the fact that such substitution has been habitually made by Assyriologist transcribers, or the full proofs have been duly cited in that footnote to my article. But they audaciously deny that such substitution and consequent disappearance of the textual Sumerian name is either "arbitrary," or "unwarranted," or misleading to historical students on the part of the transcribers or transliterators of the texts.

It is interesting to hear the disingenuous excuse which these professed

scholars offer in justification of this arbitrary substitution of a totally different name from that occurring in the texts. It is that the late bilingual Sumerian-Assyrian glosses state that the Sumerian "*Tin Tir*" (or, as now seen, "*Tin She-nir*" or "*Ti She-nir*") was the same city which the Semites called "*Bab-il*"—a well known fact which I had already noted in my article in explaining how this substitution came to be arbitrarily made.

To advance such a specious plea in justification of the arbitrary substitution of different names from those in the texts illustrates the quaint mental confusion of the writers in not recognizing the necessity for scrupulous accuracy in the transliteration of historical proper names in texts, nor the radical distinction between transliteration and translation. Such transliterations as they defend are as arbitrary, unwarranted, and unscholarly as would be the arbitrary alteration by a modern Latin editor of the title of Caesar's "*De bello Gallico*" into "*De bello Franco*," and at the same time leading the student to believe that the latter name existed in the text. If such arbitrary alterations and substitutions be practised, there is an end to all confidence in "official" and other transcriptions representing faithfully the historical names actually occurring in the texts.

They have apparently excited themselves needlessly about the reputation of M. Thureau-Dangin and the late Professor King, whose high repute as experts in Assyriology is too firmly established to be in any danger from anyone, and least of all from one who so fully appreciates it, and is so deeply indebted to their labours. I merely, in the obscurity of a footnote, mentioned the fact that even well-known experts failed to transliterate or "transcribe" faithfully the name in question ("*Tin Tir*" or "*Ti She-nir*") as it occurred in the texts, and substituted a different name (*Bab-il*), for which the word signs possessed no such Sumerian phonetic values, and thus misled students of Comparative History in regard to the real name actually written in the texts. And I instanced these two experts as habitually suppressing the "*Tin Tir*" of the text, and substituting the altogether different word *Bab-il*, which is written with altogether different word signs, and for this I cited detailed proofs which cannot be gainsaid.

Regarding the next series of their objections—namely, those referring to my evidence for the reading of the Sumerian word signs for Babylon by their primary ideographic values, as "*Ti She-nir*," or "*The Great Tower of Grain of Life*," instead of the "*Tin Tir*" of the later Semitic glossaries—I must refer the reader to my article for the evidence and the detailed proofs on which this reading rests, and for the evidence that "*She-nir*," as the apparent source of the Hebrew "*Shinar*," or "*Senaar*" of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, is presumably a shortened form of "*Tin She-nir*," from which the prefix *Tin* or *Ti* (meaning "*Life*") has in course of time dropped out of use.

Thus "*She-nir*" or "*Tir*" element of the Sumerian city-name for Babylon is found occasionally in documents from the Early Sumerian period of about 2950 B.C. down to the Medo-Persian occupation. In noting this fact on the third page of my article, I find that I inadvertently omitted there the words "element of" before "city-name" in discussing the written forms of the signs for that element, but that it was merely this

element of the city-name, and not the city-name itself, I was referring to is evident from the context. As the present enquiry into the meaning and usage of that element "She-nir" now establishes a presumption that that compound word-sign originally meant "Great Tower of Grain," it is now desirable to re-examine all the known instances in which this compound sign occurs in early documents, to see from the context whether it has always this meaning, and whether in some cases it may designate the city of Babylon. In this regard, the determinative affix *Ki* (literally "Land," but usually translated by Assyriologists "City") is not invariably affixed to the name of Babylon and other cities, as your correspondents assume. Indeed, one such instance occurs in a recent transcription by one of your correspondents himself.\* Besides, as a fact, *Babylon is actually called "Shi-nir" in Babylonian documents*, as we shall see later on.

The fact, moreover, that the late bilingual Sumero-Assyrian glossaries give the trisyllabic word signs of "Ti-She-nir" (with the pronunciation of "Tin-Tir") as a title for Babylon presumes the very early use of this title for Babylon, apart from its use as a fashionable title in the Neo-Babylonian period, as these glossaries deal mainly with Early Sumerian words which had become more or less obsolete.

These writers say "the excellent illustrations which accompany the article have no effect on the argument whatever." On the contrary, however, they have all the effect on the argument which they were intended to have, and that is a great deal. Thus they prove unequivocally that the two pictographic Sumerian word-signs for the so-called "Tir" element of this Sumerian name for Babylon consist of two syllabic word signs—not one—and that these signs read by their ideographs "*She nir*," with the literal meaning of "The Great Tower of Grain." Moreover, these illustrations also prove that the signs actually picture graphically "A Great Tower of Grain." Still further, these illustrations prove (see Figure 5) that the later common abbreviated title for Babylon usually transcribed or transliterated as "*E*" by Assyriologists is the identical word sign of the second syllable in "*She-nir*," with the Sumerian value of *Nir*, the significance of which fact will be seen later on. And in favour of *Nir* and not "*E*" being the original value of this sign, I should mention that Barton, in his authoritative Sumerian glossary, specially notes that this *E* sign "designated Babylon through the accident that the Neo-Babylonian form of the sign is identical with the last part of the Neo-Babylonian form of *Tir*"†—that is, "*She-nir*."

Nor is it a new thing for Assyriologists, in attempting to "restore" into Roman letters the unknown forms of Sumerian proper names, to prefer the intrinsic ideographic phonetic values of Sumerian word-signs in some cases to those of the late bilingual Assyrian glosses, where it suits their theory or purpose to equate the name to a better-known one

\* "Cuneiform Texts in British Museum," xxxv., 1920, ed. C. Gadd, p. 9, pl. 21; also L. W. King, "Chronicles of Early Babylonian Kings," ii. 8, and 27, 76.

† G. A. Barton, "Babylonian Writing," ii., p. 137



So much, then, for the dogmatic assertion of the writers on "the nonexistent 'Ti-She-nir' which he has evolved," and "that it (the two word-signs in question latterly read 'Tir') is to be read 'She-nir' is demonstrably false"—an assertion for which they are careful, however, to attempt no demonstration. Indeed, they stultify themselves completely in the adjoining lines, where they write "The discovery that the sign 'Tir' is a compound of 'She' and 'Nir' is no discovery, it has long been common property, and is, indeed, obvious"—though they have just denied in the previous lines that "Tir" has any such value! This shows how hopelessly impossible it is to attempt to reason with such people.

Similarly as regards their remark, purporting to be a reply to a statement which I never made, they sagely inform me that "the Hebrews were not the people who *first* misrepresented and embroidered with fiction' the origin of the Tower of Babel", because, as they inform me, "the miraculous circumstances which led to the building of Esagila and Etemenanki by the divine Anunnaki (spirits) are described at length in the sixth Tablet of the Creation Epic" I am, of course, grateful to have this bit of commonplace old information retailed again, though it is not at all clear how the myth of the miraculous building of this Babylonian temple and tower by spirits explains the legend of the Tower of Babel, built by human hands in antagonism to the divine spirits. Nor did I say that the Hebrews were the *first* to embroider the ancient legend of that tower. But your erudite correspondents have omitted to add the significant fact that these mythological Creation legend (miscalled by them "Epic") tablets of the Semitic Babylonians are found by the best recent experts to date no earlier than the sixth century B.C.—that is, within the period of the Hebrew exile in Babylonia, and about the same time to which is usually credited the compilation of the Book of Genesis.

Respecting the Hebrew spelling of this old city name for Babylon as "Shinar," these writers assume that the Hebrew spelling is a strictly correct rendering of the Babylonian name. But it is a notorious fact that the Hebrew spelling of foreign proper names in the Old Testament is, as a rule, corrupt, and usually affords merely a general resemblance to the proper spelling of such names. To appreciate this fact, one has only to turn to the well known names of Assyrian and Babylonian kings called by the Hebrews "Nebuchadnezzar," "Sennacherib," "Amraphel," etc., and compare the Hebrew spelling with the real spelling, as found in the actual original inscriptions of these kings themselves, as transcribed by Assyriologists, wherein, for example, the Hebrew "*Amraphel*" is assumed to be intended for the name really spelt by that king himself as "*Khammurabi*." Similarly the name of the great ruling race of pre-Jewish Palestine and Syria, which in the Old Testament is variously spelt "*Heth*" and "*Hitt*," and latinized in our English version into "*Hittite*," was really spelt by the people whose title it was, and also by the Babylonians and Assyrians, as "*Khatti*."

In view of this common corruptness in the Hebrew spelling of Babylonian names, it is no valid argument against the Sumerian "She-nir" being the original source of the Hebrew "Shinar" merely to point to the

differences in the vowels in these two names. That the first vowel in the original name was an *e* is probable from the form of the name in the Septuagint version being spelt "Senaar," as I pointed out in my article. And it was because the present *i* in "Shinar" does not exist in the Old Hebrew texts of the Old Testament, but was introduced conjecturally by late Massoretic rabbis, that I spelt that Hebrew name alternatively as it literally occurs in Old Hebrew, "*Sh n ar*"—which rendering, however, is too strictly literal to please your correspondents. This corruptness of the Hebrew spelling, which is especially lax in the medial vowels, would also explain how an *a* ('*ayin*') appears in the Hebrew "Shinar" in place of the *i* in the Sumerian "She nir".

Lastly, regarding my remark that the form *Bab-il lu*, or "Place of the Gate of God," occurs in Babylonian and Assyrian script as a common Semitic spelling of the name for Babylon (instead of the "*Babils*," as habitually rendered by these writers and others), I am, of course, grateful to your erudite correspondents for informing me that "it was not normally spelt *Bab il lu*, as he supposes, if such a spelling does occur, it is merely a scribal vagary." Unfortunately for these correspondents, however, this "scribal vagary" not only does occur, but it is the rule in the earlier Semitic spelling of that city-name. And what is of special significance, it is "*Babils*," and not "*Babils*," which is given in the glossaries as the Semitic equivalent of the Sumerian name in question, "*Tin Tir*" (or "*Tin She-nir*")\*. Indeed I would point out to the senior of these writers that in the very latest cuneiform text published by himself in 1921,† in almost the only instances in which Babylon is expressly mentioned, it is in the form of this "scribal vagary *Bab il lu*"—which three-syllabled word of the text, moreover, is arbitrarily and inaccurately habitually transliterated by that writer as "*Babils*."

This Semitic form of spelling the name of Babylon as "*Bab il lu*" accounts presumably, as I showed in my article, through its Sumerian values of "*Ka ash ra*," for the Hebrew alternative title of "*Kashd*," "*Kashdm*," or "*Kasdm*,"‡ for Babylon and Babylonia, the Babylonian original of which also had not been found. In forming "*Kashdm*" our

\* Thus Prince, "Sumerian Lexicon, 333, 381," "*Babils*," G. Howards "Clavis Cuneorum, 87 (455).

† S. Smith, "First Campaign of Sennacherib," 1921, lines 16 and 30 pp. 58 and 63, and L. W. King gives "*Babils*" for the "*Bab-il lu*" of the text in his "Chronicles of Early Babylonian Kings," II 48, 195 though the very same word signs he elsewhere renders variously as "*Babils*" (pp. 8, 27, 76) and "*Ka dingir ra*" (pp. 98, 100, 185).

‡ This Hebrew word—for which "*Chaldea*" and "*Chaldeans*" is substituted in our English version of the Old Testament, because "*Chaldea*" is substituted for it in the Greek Septuagint—is written in the Old Hebrew texts without any diacritical marks as "*K sh dia*" and "*K-sh dim*." But the later Massoretic scribes, who introduced the diacritical dots, manufactured out of the letter *Sh* two letters, *Sh* and *S*, by placing conventional a dot on one or other limb of this letter (see Gesenius, "Heb. Dict. 1010 and 1031). And in this particular word they placed their dot so to make the letter read arbitrarily *S* and the word "*Kashd*" and "*Kasdm*."

of the Sumerian reading of "Ka-ash-ra," for the word signs "Bab-il-lu," the later Hebrew copyists, as I noted in my article, obviously confused the letter *r* with the extremely similar Hebrew letter *z*, and added the Hebrew plural affix *im* to denote the "lands" or "people" of Babylon. The Old Testament evidence for this usage of the Hebrew "Kashdim" to include the whole of Babylonia I duly cited in my article.

Yet your correspondents, characteristically shutting their eyes to these specified facts, which identify the Hebrew "Kashdim" with "Babylonia," adhere to the notion of the earlier Assyriologists that "Kashdim," presumably because it is rendered "Chaldea" in the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, is identical with the "Kaldū" district of Lower Babylonia of the late Assyrian period. That "Kaldū," however, was merely a late deltaic coastal district to the south of what was usually called "Babylonia" proper "Chaldean," on the other hand, was applied to a pre diluvian native of Babylon by Berosus, the Babylonian priest of Bel, who wrote the ancient traditional history of Babylonia for the information of the Seleucid King Antiochus I. (281 B.C.), and he calls the first dynasty of Babylonian kings "Chaldeans."\* Greek writers, whilst restricting the term usually to the priests, appear occasionally to refer to Babylonians broadly as "Chaldeans,"† and mention Chaldeans in Northern Mesopotamia as far as Kurdistan.‡ And one of the foremost Assyriologists the other day writes "Chaldeans—that is, Babylonians"§

Befogged, however, with their confused notions on the subject, it is not surprising that these progressive writers express their contentment in still "holding to the perfectly satisfactory identification of the Heb. *Kashdim* with Assyrian *Kaldū*." The full significance of this admission will be evident to your readers when it is remembered that this "identification" depends mainly upon the absurd assumption of the older unscientific philologists that "*Kaldū*" has become "*Kashdim*" through dialectic phonetic change—a change which would be palpably in defiance of all the known laws of phonetic change. Your correspondents are therefore to be congratulated upon their die hard credulity.

It is thus seen that all the attested evidence which I have adduced for the hitherto unrecognized Sumerio-Babylonian sources of the Hebrew Old Testament names of "Shinar" and "Kashdim" still remains wholly unshaken by the dogmatic assertions and misrepresentations of your professed "expert" correspondents in their letter in question. Instead of defending obvious and misleading inaccuracies, and the arbitrary suppression and substitution of important historical names in the texts, your correspondents would be better employed in trying to render more faithfully accurate than heretofore their transcriptions or transliterations of the cuneiform texts for which they are paid to be the official transcribers.

Confirmatory evidence, moreover, for my identification of the Sumerian

\* "Cory's Ancient Fragments," ed. Hodges, 51 f.

† Thus presumably Herodotus, 7, 63; Strabo, 1, 2, 15; Diodorus, etc.

‡ Xenophon, "Cyropedia," 3, 1, 24, 3, 2 "Anabasis," 4, 3, 4, 5, 5, 9, 7, 18, 14

§ Professor S. Langdon in *J.R.A.S.*, July, 1922, 470

"*She-nir*" with the "*Shinar*" and "*Senaar*" of the Hebrews has transpired since writing that article, to which the reader is referred for the further details.

Dr. Pinches has kindly called my attention to his article on the "Erdu" title of Babylon in the "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology" (1913, p. 154 f), wherein it is conclusively proved that "*Shu-nir*" was a recognized early title for Babylon. In that article is cited a bilingual text published by the Abbe H. de Genouillac in the *Revue d'Assyriologie* (vol. x, 1913, pp. 69 f) proving that a title for Babylon was "*SHINIR GAL*," or "The Great *Shu-nir*." This title was provisionally read by Dr. Pinches as "*Igi-Nir Gal*," but, as he now observes, the word-sign for *Igi* has also the phonetic value of "*Shir*" and thus can restore the name to "*Shu-nir*." In this variant of "*She-nir*," or "The Great Tower of Grain," the first element in the compound name, "*Shi*," means "Life", and thus gives the meaning of "The Tower of Life." Thus appears to be a clever periphrasis of the full title "*Ti She-nir*," or "Tower of Grain of Life," as a poetic reference to grain (as bread) as "The Staff of Life," as already mentioned in my article.

Here I am content to leave to the judgment of the reader and unbiassed Assyriologist experts my attempt to explain the hitherto unknown origin and meaning of the Hebrew titles "*Shinar*" and "*Kashdim*" for Babylon and Babylonia, and the light it seems to throw upon the historical economic origin and purpose of the Tower of Babel—an attempt which is seen to rest so largely upon the solid foundation of fact.

I am, yours, etc.,

L. A. WADDELL

August 12, 1922

## EINSTEIN AND THE STRAIGHT LINE

By PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER

It may be possible to explain the main point here involved without calling upon the average reader for the application of mathematical principles, of which most of us are of course ignorant. During the Boer War, when Sir (then merely Professor) Oliver Lodge first foreshadowed the possibility of communicating with Ladysmith, a few miles distant, by means of a sort of wireless telegraphy, numerous developers of his original idea communicated their views to the public press, and before long Marconi's system was in full working, over sea as well as land, for short distances, it was soon thought wonderful that our naval units manœuvring in the Irish and North Seas could send secret messages to each other from distances of fifty or a hundred miles apart. No use whatever of wireless was made during the Boer War of 1900, and scarcely any, if any at all, during the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05. Many correspondents argued that impracticably long poles would be required to neutralize the curvature of the earth if we wished to send wireless messages over long distances, in other words, that electricity, unless guided along, as, for instance, by wire,

must travel in a straight line, light, sound, etc., in most men's minds, were equally supposed to travel straight to the earth, or move straight when on the earth. But it is easy to show in a popular way that there cannot be such a thing as a straight line or a "water level." Take, for instance, a yard measure constructed with microscopical exactitude, so as to correspond with a perfect "horizon" of mercury or water, there is no limit to fractions of size or to multiples of size, each millionth or billionth of the yard would be perfectly straight, as we all can clearly imagine. A second yard constructed in the same way and placed end on end with the first would be perfectly straight for all our earthly purposes, and so on with even a hundred or a thousand yards, but sooner or later the line of yards must bend—that is, each part of it is attracted to the earth's centre, just as tides are shifted by attraction and counter attraction. What electricity is at present no one can define, but however "far out" it may extend into space, some of it at least would seem to be, like water, subject to the earth's attraction, hence wireless messages, such as Dame Clara Butt's recent concert despatched simultaneously with one "effort" over hundreds up to a thousand miles or more, must follow the curved line of the earth's circumference.

Some forty years ago the writer had a long conversation with a really competent mathematician, who had, after months of experiment and study, found it impossible to "square the circle," an operation which, he said, had defied humanity for centuries, that is to say, no matter how minutely you measure the circumference line, you cannot prove that it is equal to the sum of any square's four straight lines. Perhaps, now that the Einstein straight line—whilst just as useful as it was before for Newtonian purposes—is "written off" for astronomy, we ought to say "it is impossible to circle the square," and not "it is impossible to square the circle," if a straight line, no matter how long or how short, cannot exist, then four straight lines at right angles cannot exist, *a fortiori*, a cube's contents cannot be proved mathematically to correspond with a globe's contents—*i.e.*, on the basis of an appropriate circle having been squared so far as possible with our present knowledge.

Euclid's definition of a straight line, whilst perfectly good for practical human purposes, cannot be true for astronomical purposes, for there are no stationary "points" between which to give the distances. So there cannot be such things as parallel "straight lines that never meet." The return path of many a comet (appearing to us on the earth only once in many tens, hundreds, or possibly thousands of years) may be strictly parallel (in our earthly conception of the word) to its "going" path for tens, hundreds, thousands, or even millions of miles, and yet at each "end" of its cruise there is a turning-point, to approach which it must "break" the supposed parallels, hence the accepted ideas of parabola, hyperbola, directrix, focus, axis, and so on, must perhaps in future be taken *cum grano*.

It is not easy for the passenger travelling between Vancouver or San Francisco to Nagasaki or Hakodadi to understand the difference between great circle and short circle navigation, he is told that the navigation by a

certain circle is the shortest and straightest line between say, Victoria and Hakodadi, skirting the Aleutian Isles, but, on consulting the charts, he is quite unable to reconcile an apparent excursion far away north, and then back south, with the "shortest straight line" to Japan.

Another question arises. If a straight line in the Euclidean sense be incompatible with cosmic movements, and if a circle which has no end and no beginning is the ultimate cosmico-mathematical unit, why should we assume that there must be some limit to space? All we know is that perpetual motion, attraction, and counter-attraction govern space, so far as regards the units of the cosmos, and age by age we have after patient observation acquainted ourselves gradually with the difference between sidereal, solar, and lunar years, the precession of the equinoxes, and so on. Sumerian, Egyptian, Chinese, and European observations extending over 6,000 years or more show that there is now hardly a minute's change in time so far as our solar system is concerned. Why should we assume that there must be an end to "things" as there must have been a beginning? The fact that we human beings can think may appear to us supremely important, but we go and come with the same helplessness as the microscopic insect, whose corporeal arrangements are just as complete as ours, though its life may not last a day, and though its world may not extend over a fraction of an inch in space. The instincts of dogs, bees, eagles, vultures, beavers, and ants are much finer than ours in some respects, they come and go, enjoying life while it lasts, just as we do. Our capacity first of thinking, then of speaking, next of writing, at last of telegraphing, telephoning, and flying leaves us (as mere animals) much as we were 6,000 or 60,000, possibly 600,000 years ago. Dean Inge seems to support this view. Nothing could be more startling and at the same time nothing could be simpler, than the latest strange but self evident thought that a straight line is impossible in nature; the next great discovery, possibly even simpler, may be that the conception of a beginning and an end is but a gratuitous assumption based upon our narrow earthly experiences, meanwhile all our thinking seems to have left us, so far as contentment and happiness are concerned, much as we were untold centuries ago.

P S—In the *Journal de Genève* of July 24 M. René de Saussure has an interesting article on "Le Paradoxe d'Einstein."

# LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

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## LEADING ARTICLE

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### INDIAN HEROINES

BY STANLEY RICE

WHAT is a heroine? In these modern days we are apt to call by that name the central female figure of any work, be it dramatic or fictional, though there may be nothing heroic about her. Little Nora, the poor puppet of the Doll's House, is in this sense as much a heroine as is Flora MacDonald, the egregious Becky Sharp as the majestic Romola. These are the types of various phases of human nature which in any given work have been given prominence, and we dignify them all equally by the name of heroine because we have come to regard a certain realism as essential to any true work of art. For this we have, perhaps, to thank the vogue of melodrama—at least, in part—for the heroine of melodrama is a compact of the virtues cast by Fate into the lap of misfortune, from which the equally immaculate hero rescues her, thus bringing to nought the wiles of the villain. That was not the conception of the ancients. Both Greece and India taught religion through the ethics of the stage; there is something terrible, majestic, grand—in a word, heroic—about the great Greek figures. Just as Lady Macbeth, in spite of the ambition which drove her into the murder of a guest, moves our admiration because of her force of character, so far removed from the hesitations of the conscience-stricken husband, "letting I dare not wait upon I would," so the great figure of the Æschylean Clytemnestra stands out majestic in the very enormity of its wickedness. For you can inculcate ethical doctrines as well by exhibiting sin as by exhibiting virtue, and so you find that on the female side, at any rate, the Greek heroines, with certain notable exceptions, are painted in dark colours.

It is because India has taken the opposite line, has chosen to invest her heroines with all that is lovely in the eyes of her writers, that we are apt to dub them conventional. Human nature, we argue, harking back to our realistic bias, could not be so perfect as this, and therefore the

picture must be untrue. Woman, we think, is made up of vice and virtue, of weakness and strength, and the portrait of the perfect woman is drawn in colours which are all light and no shade.

Such an estimate is, however, fundamentally erroneous, fundamentally because we should never lose sight of the central idea of Hinduism that God is made manifest in the whole and in every part. The perfect woman is the embodiment of the divine in its female manifestations, and is held up to future generations as the type of excellence, the type which every Indian woman is to follow. As Mr. Ramaswami Sastri has said in a recent book, which, though extravagant in its praise of Hindu culture, and conspicuous for a want of grasp of all that Western culture means, has nevertheless set before us an enlightening view of Indian arts and literature: "The eternal ideals revealed in the Vedas were affirmed and realized by the epic heroes, and proclaimed in the epics themselves." It is because the women of the great epics and the great dramas embody these ideals that they have struck such deep roots into the soil of Indian life, while the ephemeral heroines of modern Hindu literature pass like shadows across the stage, and, like shadows, leave no trace.

With this shining example before her, not merely enshrined in the perennial pages of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, of Sakuntala and the Toy-Cart, but interwoven into her daily life, it may easily be granted that the estimate of the Hindu woman as a mere household drudge is very far from being the truth. It has sometimes been flung in the teeth of the Hindu that his marriage system is too one-sided; the man has his freedom, the masculine character is allowed to predominate too obtrusively, while the woman is subordinated in everything. She is bound to the man, not of her choice, but of her parents; she is tied by a chain, golden or iron she is not of an age to discover. She cannot be a helpmate for her husband, because she has never been allowed to develop her mind. Yet even a severe critic of modern Hindu culture exclaims, "All the pride we still may feel for our culture is due to the saintly virtues of our women." When the question is one of race and culture, it is the women that count, and not the men. We cannot fairly judge the Hindu ideal of womanhood by what we can see on the surface. It is true that the woman of India has not the freedom of her sister in the West, either in the choice of her mate, or in her goings out and comings in. Yet, after all, has the European system been without its



failures ? Have boy and girl the wit to make the momentous choice of their lives ? It is certainly unfair to speak of *Western marriage* as "mere post-puberty choice of attractive and attracted eyes," but we must admit that there are as many unhappy marriages in Europe as in Asia. We must look beyond the external relations of both to the spiritual influences which man and woman exercise one upon another. We must, in a word, look beyond the material to the ideal.

What, then, was the ideal which was embodied in the great heroines of the Indian epics ? Not, perhaps, that which we would naturally ascribe to the European woman, yet well suited to the Indian temperament and the Indian system. For, to the Indian heroine, the first of all maxims is *unwavering devotion to the husband*. To her the Miltonic line is the golden motto

"He for God only, she for God in him"

It was an ideal hard to follow. The woman's weakness almost overcame her resolution. When Rama is exiled, and Sita of her own free will elects to accompany him, the hard reality is forced upon her

"Sita, in her silks arrayed,  
Threw glances trembling and afraid  
On the bark coat she had to wear,  
Like a shy doe that eyes the snare."

Yet love and that intuition which saw only the divine in her husband prevailed, and she shares his exile. But the woman had to pay. The man, half god, half hero, could fight with giants and overcome them; the woman is ravished from his sight to an exile in a far land in the power of a cruel enemy. Nor is Sita the sole example of this intuition, it is, in fact, the central idea of the greatest typical heroines in the epics. Like Britomart, they bear always the unbroken spear of wifely devotion and the untarnished shield of wifely chastity

There was no compulsion in this devotion. Sita might have remained at home during the exile of her husband, Damayanti had good cause to cast off the faithless Nala, Draupadi was not called upon to put her life and, as it chanced, her liberty in jeopardy for the sake of her Pandu husbands. And what shall we say of Sakuntala, whose love and devotion rose superior to the apparently heartless rejection of her by her royal lover ? What, above all, of Savitri, the Alcestis of Indian literature, who, though the supreme sacrifice of life was not required of her, was yet willing to enter the very gates of death rather than be left

on earth without her husband? The Hindus reverence Savitri, perhaps, above all other women, save only Sita, and not without reason. It is invidious to make comparison with the Greek queen, of whom her own maid said :

"What must she  
Who seeketh to surpass this woman be?"

Let us not say that one has surpassed the other; let them shine as twin and equal stars in the firmament of womanhood: Alcestis, the queen, who visibly laid down her life for her husband, though not without that shrinking from death that is the heritage of mortal man,\* and Savitri, the Indian princess, wilful in marriage, yet prepared joyfully to follow Yama to his dread domain, from which she knew well there could be no return. Which is the greater, which the more shining example—she who laid down her life though it cost her an effort, or she who was willing to lay it down with all the exaltation of a sati? We will not decide; rather, like Timotheus and Cecilia before Alexander, "let both divide the crown." But at least we may acknowledge with regret that Europe, which has long revered the sacrament of love in the one, has all too little recognized the triumph of love in the other.

Though we have often been reminded that woman is inconstant, variable, and fickle, it is remarkable that the epics of all nations in which the woman is depicted in any detail attribute to her a constancy of purpose which they deny to the man. In those martial stories which take as their theme the prowess of heroes there is, indeed, little place for the woman. Helen of Troy is not really a heroine in any sense of the word; those who seek to exalt her to that rank, in order, it may be, to compare her with other women of the truly heroic kind, do injustice both to the "Iliad" and to the Greek conception of womanhood. She is simply the focus upon which the war is centred, "the *face* that launched a thousand ships." And in like manner the pale figure of Aude flits across the last pages of the "Chanson de Roland," only to vanish again in the darkness of death. But the Indian heroines stand out of the picture no less clearly than do Penelope in the "Odyssey" and Kriemhild in the "Nibelungenlied." And if there is one quality which, being common to all three traditions, strikes the reader by its very insistence, it is that of steadfastness of purpose. It is not always

\* "Suddenly she fled  
Back to her own chamber and bridal bed.  
Then came the tears, and she spoke all her thought."

expressed in the same way. The goal may be religious devotion to the gods, which in Greece especially was very sensitive about burial rites; or it may be the execution of righteous judgment upon the wrongdoer, even when the culprit is a mother; or, again, it may be the desire for vengeance which burnt in the breast of an otherwise virtuous and lovable woman for thirteen years, and which was only satisfied when the hated object was at last reached through a sea of the blood of kinsmen and of friends. The Indian heroine, though moulded on a softer pattern, yields in this quality of steadfastness neither to Antigone nor to Electra nor to Kriemhild. Her purpose never wavers, even though her husband may lose faith in her, and may have deserved, according to our European standards at any rate, that she should desert him altogether. It was, in fact, a cowardly act in Yudishtira to stake his wife (and the wife, too, of his brothers) upon the cast of the dice, and it came near to dishonouring Draupadi. But she does not falter. She holds her husband blameless, and the boon she asks of the blind king is the liberty of the Pandavas, and especially of him who had done her this wrong. And when at the last the weary task is over, and this world is to be exchanged for a world of peace and rest, the gentle Draupadi, who has all along shared the hardships of exile and the triumphs of restoration, still steadfast in her purpose of devotion, is the first to fall by the way. The task was too great for her woman's strength.

And what shall we say of Damayanti, the peerless maid, who entered the bridal hall like the moon upon a starry night? When Nala left her in the forest, she spent three years in ceaseless travel, searching, searching for Nala all the time. His own wanderings were aimless by comparison. He had thought her safe at home in her father's house, and if he took service as a charioteer that was only the better to hide his identity.

And there is another quality which distinguishes these Indian queens. Ruskin has said of Shakespeare that he has no heroes, but only heroines, who are the guardian angels of erring men, and redeem them from the consequences of their follies. True or not this may be of Shakespeare; again and again we find it in the heroines of India. It is, one might say, the Shakti of womanhood guarding the weakness of man; it is the recognition of the eternal fact that upon the woman—wife or mother—depends the sanctity and loveliness of the home, that upon her devolves the task of smoothing the rough places of life and

lifting her husband or son from the rocky path of this earth, with its pitfalls and snares, into a region of spiritual peace. That, we should like to think, is the motif in the story of Nala, who is at last brought back to joy and to prosperity by Damayanti's ruse of seeking a new husband. That, too, is perhaps the underlying principle in the salvation of the Pandavas by Draupadi. And when at last the wronged Sita, misunderstood, mistrusted even by the godlike Rama, is vindicated by heaven, we cannot but feel that, for all his heroic deeds of war, for all his resource in overcoming difficulty, for all the final victory over his gigantic opponent, salvation has come to Rama in the higher things of the soul through the constancy, the purity, and the devotion of his wife. The scene is described by Professor Cowell :

"But Sita's heart was too full ; this second ordeal was beyond even her power to submit to, and the poet rose above the ordinary level of Hindu women when he ventured to paint her conscious purity as rebelling. Beholding all the spectators, and clothed in red garments, Sita, clasping her hands and bending low her face, spoke thus in a voice choked with tears : ' As I, even in mind, have never thought of any other person than Rama, so may Madhavi, the goddess of earth, grant me a hiding-place.' As Sita made the oath, lo ! a marvel appeared. Suddenly cleaving the earth, a divine throne of marvellous beauty rose up, borne by resplendent dragons on their heads, and, seated on it, the goddess of earth, raising Sita with her arm, said to her, ' Welcome to thee ! ' and placed her by her side. And as the queen, seated on the throne, slowly descended to Hades, a continuous shower of flowers fell down from heaven on her head."

Truly we may say with Mr. Oman that "all the female characters," not only in "this epic," the Ramayana, but in the other epic also and in most of the dramas, are more human than those of the opposite sex ; and in their genuine womanhood they reveal a higher conception than we are treated to in the case of the men, always excepting the one truly heroic male character of both epics, whose life as warrior and man, as preceptor and ruler, in prosperity and in adversity, was uniformly blameless—Bhisma, to whom his very enemies did reverence as he lay upon his self-chosen death-bed of arrows.

Are they then conventional, these spiritual incarnations of all that the Hindu poets have found excellent in woman ?

Surely not. They are not the lay figures of melodrama with their artificial poses, their artificial situations, and their artificial, or perhaps superficial, sentimentality, but the true presentment of the ideal woman. If they are conventional, so also is the daughter of Icarius; so also is the Homeric Arete, of whom it was written that "Alcinous honoured her as no other woman in the world is honoured of all that nowadays keep house under the hand of their lords," and "who ever had all worship from her own children and from all the folk." The only conventional trait which Indian heroines share with all others is physical beauty. One and all, Kriemhild and Penelope, Sita and Savitri, Aude and Iseult, are blessed with these physical charms, which in the first instance seem to have been the chief attraction to the heroes who won them. But the conception of a heroine who has not the charm of beauty was reserved for another age; nor can we blame India that she has only followed the established custom in this respect.

Nor ought we to forget the customs of the country in estimating the characters of these heroines. It has often been remarked that such episodes as the cutting of wood in the forest by Satyavan and Savitri show how primitive was the society of these ancient legends. But there is ample evidence that if women were not so jealously guarded as now, modesty forbade them ordinarily to appear in public. It was one of Draupadi's bitterest wrongs that she was dragged half-naked into the presence of the assembled lords, when even the sun had scarcely dared to look upon her before. It was recognized as part of Sita's hard fate (and part of her glory in sharing it with Rama) that she was forced to walk openly through the streets. And Damayanti, once the moon in splendour, arrived at her city of refuge like the moon in eclipse, escorted up the long street by a mob of jeering boys. If they laboured in the household, these princesses, at least they lived sheltered lives, and the conflict between modesty and devotion must have been great.

Not every heroine is free from feminine weakness, nor is every woman a heroine. We have already seen how Sita shrank from the dress of bark as she shrank from the gaze of men. And Damayanti, who had previously remonstrated with Nala for his plan of leaving her on the unselfish ground that a man needs the help and comfort of his wife, is first struck, when the calamity has happened, by the sense of her own helplessness. It is the woman's weakness that draws from Draupadi the cry that brings Krishna to

her aid in her extremity. One might multiply examples were it necessary; perhaps the most striking of all is the waywardness of Sita just before the famous abduction, when her quite undeserved taunts of Lakshmana have overcome her fidelity to Rama, and by driving him away from his post have opened the way to the catastrophe. Nor are the women all upon the high plane of idealized virtue. The ancients recognized that women, too, have their failings, and that it is not every woman who can live up to the ideal. Were they, then, held up as warnings? We might perhaps say that of the queen in "*Sarangdhar*," the counterpart of Phædra, of whom Racine wrote, "*J'ai même pris soin de la rendre un peu moins odieuse qu'elle n'est dans les tragédies des anciens.*" There is something heroic in the furious passion of the queen, though it led to a shameful charge. Racine has felt this when he makes her frenzy a visitation of the gods. Swinburne has felt it when he carries the story no further than the opening, and he plays upon our pity for the "born daughter to Pasiphaë." But for Kaikeyi, the intriguer, the dupe of a slave girl, who will stoop to any injustice to Rama and incidentally to Sita, we can feel nothing but contempt. She is woven into the plot; she is, in fact, the cause of all the exile, the wanderings, the disaster at the hands of Ravana, but she makes no figure on the canvas, and we would fain regard her as the plaything of the gods, who were working out the destiny of Rama.

"He for God only, she for God in him"—that is the key to the conception of the Sanskrit masters. And if we miss the variety of the Greek stage, if we look in vain for the righteous indignation of a Medea expressing itself in terrible action, if we do not find the stern purpose of an Electra pursuing justice even to the shedding of a mother's blood, we have in the Indian gallery of portraits, be they of queens or courtesans or hermit's foster-daughters, a steadfast conception of all that is highest and noblest in tender and gentle womanhood, an example for all women who love their ancient literature—and who does not?—to follow in their lives of every day.

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## OUR REVIEW OF BOOKS

## INDIA

INDIAN ADMINISTRATION TO THE DAWN OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT,  
1765-1920 By B K Thakore, B A, I E S Rupees 4 net

(Reviewed by SIR VIRNEY LOVETT)

The author of this useful book rightly observes that, with the introduction of responsible Government, the creation of a school of constitutional history has become a necessity in India. He has tried to trace the course of British administration in India from the days when the British in India were merely factors and clerks, through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, on to the days of the Mutiny and the end of the East India Company. Then he takes up the history of Crown Government from 1861 onwards. He tells of the Legislative Councils, the administration of justice, the settlements of land revenue. He deals with the extent, frequency, duration of famines, the methods of famine prevention, with railways and irrigation. He devotes a chapter to financial decentralization and local self government, another chapter to modern education and political movements, and a final chapter to the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. He considers the constitution passed by the Act of December, 1919, to be 'truly liberal, necessarily leading on to full self government of the Parliamentary type, if we on our part will only work the Act in the spirit in which it has been passed. That is the question. Will Indian Parliamentarians work the Act in this spirit, or will they work it in quite a different spirit? Time will tell.

The book, generally speaking, reflects the ordinary views of Western-educated Indians. It is written with care and research. We cannot but regret that it should be disfigured by such assertions as the following (p. 388) "In those days"—the days when the Indian National Congress was launched—"everyone who passed the Collector's bungalow stopped a minute, doffed his shoes, made a salaam to the spirit of the place, and only then resumed his shoes and proceeded on his way. In those days a mem sahib had still merely to order her khansama to take a man along with him to the magistrate—the man might be a servant, or a pedlar, or a beggar, or a passer by—and the magistrate would instantly have administered to the poor fellow a few cuts of the whip to maintain the Raj and its prestige."

We happen ourselves to have lived in India "in those days"—in the year 1885. Presumably our author was then of tender years, or possibly had not been born. We can assure him that the information which has led him to make the above statements is grossly and wholly untrue.

CREATIVE UNITY By Rabindranath Tagore Pp. 203. (London : Macmillan and Co) 7s. 6d.

(Reviewed by HARIHAR DAS)

These are a series of collected essays on various subjects revealing the same fundamental truths which suggest creative unity. Some of these essays were read by the poet in London at the Indian Students' Hostel, Shakespeare Hut, and at other places. These essays were originally written in English, and therefore they constitute a special feature of interest.

Dr. Tagore's work is of great importance, because he does not and will not recognize any impassable gulf between East and West. He admires Western sciences while he deplors Western materialism. We think there are many in the West who deplore materialism and reverence the spirit of man as much as he. His writings make for reconciliation and mutual understanding in the basis of the deep things of the spirit. Kipling writes as if the differences between East and West were fundamental; Tagore, while not ignoring the differences, believes in the possibility of unity. For him, as for all true mystics, the things which unite are more fundamental and stronger than the things which separate.

Dr. Tagore's prose, though full of Eastern imagery, loses nothing of its directness and force thereby. When he says, "Calcutta, with her up-tilted nose and stony stare, had not completely disowned her foster-mother, rural Bengal, and had not surrendered body and soul to her wealthy paramour, the spirit of the ledger, bound in dead leather," it is as good as another nail in the coffin of materialism. The fields of north-east France are "death struggles stiffened into ugly ridges." In imagery the kernel of the book is expressed at the end of the essay on "East and West" "The East has neglected the nest building of truth. She has not been attentive to learn its secret. Trying to cross the trackless infinite, the East has relied solely upon her wings. She has spurned the earth till, buffeted by storms, her wings are hurt and she is tired, sorely needing help. But has she then to be told that the messenger of the sky and the builder of the nest shall never meet?" There is no poverty of thought; one can well spend some hours in pondering over the theme of this delightful book, which leads us yet closer to reality.

HAPPY INDIA By Arnold Lupton. (George Allen and Unwin, Ruskin House, 40, Museum Street, W.C. 1) 6s. net.

(Reviewed by J. B. PLUNNINGTON, I.C.S., ret'd)

Mr. Lupton explains that India might be happy "if guided by men of science," because, he says, "under such a régime there would be abundance even for the poorest classes, granaries filled in good seasons would provide food for both men and cattle during seasons of drought. The poor labourer would have money for simple pleasures, and all others might join in a prosperity that would make India a happy country"; and I suppose it might be admitted that if our men of science could have *carte blanche* in



the matter of funds they might provide unlimited wealth in India, or even in this country. But, as far as I can see, he has not given us anything like a careful estimate of the cost of their schemes, or indicated the source from which sufficient funds could be provided for such improvements. It has been calculated that even the primary education of the young would cost far more than the gross revenue of India (to say nothing of the difficulty of providing at least three million qualified teachers), and even if a Home Rule Army cost only half what the British Army costs, a saving of twenty millions a year is a mere drop in the ocean; so that, unless the League of Nations is far more successful than most people seem to expect, it is more than doubtful if any such Home Rule Army could secure the peace of the country, and, without peace, any such progress as Mr. Lupton anticipates is clearly unattainable. Otherwise his suggestions are admirable, and everyone who knows anything of India will agree that a great deal more might be done even by the present Government of India in developing the resources of the country. Mr. Harry Ford says, "We could have every great source of power harnessed and working for the common good were it not that the expense of obtaining capital stands in the way", but expense need not stand in the way of the Indian Government when raising funds for clearly reproductive work. Whether any Home Rule Government would venture to double the revenue of India for the sake of elementary education remains to be seen.

We might add that Mr. Lupton does not go very deeply into the causes of Indian poverty, and does not even allude to the enquiry into that subject which has been conducted by Captain Petavel for some years under the auspices of the Calcutta University.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Lupton's book should have been published a few months before the remarkable testimony of the Calcutta *Commercial Advertiser* on August 4, to the value of Captain Petavel's work in India. There is a considerable similarity in their ideas, but Captain Petavel's scheme of work seems more immediately feasible, as might be expected after the years of work he has devoted to it in India itself, and it is a great pity they never met. It is still more unfortunate that Mr. Lupton should have relied so much on that broken reed, Mr Digby, who somewhere estimated the value of the crops in fertile Bengal at 15 Rs. an acre, not enough, as a critic observed, to pay the cost of cultivation.

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THE TEMPLE OF FREEDOM. By Sarojini Devi. (Madras: Ganesh and Co.)

(Reviewed by STANLEY RICE)

Whatever Mrs. Sarojini Naidu writes (for we gather that she has either assumed or been awarded the title of Devi) is worth reading if only for her wonderful mastery of impassioned English—a mastery which many Englishmen might envy. The matter of the speech which is reprinted in this pamphlet is unexceptionable, for no one can seriously object to the ideal of "Indian freedom." It is, however, open to doubt whether it is wise to address such language to the impressionable and inflammable youth. The "torch-bearers on the path to freedom" have unfortunately been known

to use their torches for more questionable purposes than to light the footsteps of pilgrims, the "pilgrims on the road to liberty" have been known to turn aside into bypaths leading to destruction. The call to the students is to fill up the ranks as the soldiers fall: it is the voice of Krishna that summons them. How will the youth of India interpret such a message? Will they in truth be content to win the victory by "slaying their sins"? Experience of Indian volunteers hardly bears out the ideal that they are "reborn pure and flawless in the flame of sacrifice." One cannot but admire the system of propaganda which prints and circulates every speech of the slightest importance made by an Indian leader, and one can only wish that more energy were shown on the other side. But do the propagandists really see where their work is leading? Mr Gandhi can answer out of the mouth of Chandi Chaura

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TO INDIA THE MESSAGE OF THE HIMALAYAS By Paul Richard  
(Madras Ganesh and Co)

In his own peculiar semi-poetical style, Mr Paul Richard is an ardent champion of Indian political aspirations to complete emancipation from British leading strings. Although the fetters of her slavery are to be broken when the hands that forged them are too weak to retain them, although the sun of enlightenment, of power, of liberty and righteousness—for so the rather vague phrase may be interpreted—is setting upon Europe and is about to rise upon Asia, India is admonished to set her own house in order, to shake herself free from outworn traditions, to abolish caste, to abandon the ruts in which she has moved for centuries. Especially she must learn to emancipate her women, though in this respect Mr Richard seems to have little conception of the power of women in the land, and to judge their position entirely from what he sees around him. The Himalayas may serve as a poetic figure, though why they should have their particular message to deliver is not very apparent. The pamphlet is one of the usual counsels of perfection, it is one more of those vague appeals to the motto of the French Revolution to which we are growing accustomed, since we have heard them so often in sober prose, in impassioned oratory, in poetical or rhapsodical outbursts. There is, of course, no constructive policy, it is the licence of the poet to ignore the dull prose of ways and means.

S P R

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## FAR EAST

THE PROBLEM OF THE PACIFIC By General Golovin (*Gyldenstål*)  
10s. 6d net.

(Reviewed by T. BOWEN PARTINGTON)

In this book, which is a most valuable contribution to the books published on the Pacific question, General Golovin has made a dispassionate examination of the present-day position and aspirations of Japan, and with the conclusions he arrives at, which indicate that in Japan is the solution of all aspects of a Pacific problem, all who know anything of Eastern con-

ditions will be in agreement. But when he writes that "the complex international problem which has now arisen in the Pacific is due primarily to the excess of the population of Japan," then he will find there are many who do not go with him. For in this he is playing into the hands of the very people whose aggressiveness and militarism he has been at pains to warn against. Japan to-day is following in the footsteps of Germany, she is bidding for a place in the sun, and must give some reason for her aggressiveness. She says it is a question of population. As a matter of fact, General Golovin must know that the Japanese people at home are hardly conscious of such a problem. This evidence was given by the late Mr. Hara, the Japanese Premier, who, some little time before his murder, when questioned in the Japanese Parliament as to whether the question of population in Japan was really acute, replied in the negative, and stated "It is not serious at the present." Independent observers all tend to support this view, and hence the observations from the author are somewhat surprising.

Admitting the necessity for emigration on the part of the Japanese, General Golovin goes on to discuss with excellent detail the suitable countries for this. One would remind him that the present party in power in Japan does not want a country of virgin wilderness (even Australia), but rather one already cultivated and civilized, such as China.

He hits the nail on the head when he describes Japan as a "hothouse plant." The rise of Japan as a world power is a hothouse growth, and it has been fostered in an artificial atmosphere and in a false position.

Then are two very interesting chapters on Japan's policy in Korea and China—a policy which he rightly describes as one of bribery and corruption. The policy in both of these countries, as set forth by the author, stamps Japan as the menace to the peace of the Far East . . . or, even worse, as "a double faced Janus."

To the preparedness of Japan for war in the Pacific and her superiority over either the United States or even Great Britain, owing to the latter's great distance from Japan, the book constitutes the finest testimony ever published, and without panic or exaggeration it states in plain language what the West ought to have realized long ago—that Japan has been pre-preparing, and now stands prepared, and is ready to fight for that equality with the Powers of the West which she asserts is hers. Americans in particular will do well to read the chapters devoted to this and think well over them, for they will find contained therein matter which is incontestable and which shows and proves conclusively that the Japanese programme is one permeated in every detail with all modern tactical ideas and one of which Japan can be "just proud."

For years it has been Japan's desire to obtain domination over China. She has gone beyond that now, and her statesmen, like Count Okuma, have been clamouring for world domination. "In another quarter of a century," the Count has declared, "Japan will be in a position to struggle for world domination with the Powers of the West." General Golovin shows that she is now in that position by virtue of her undisputable and important advantages in all parts of the Far East.

There is but one thing, in dealing with the strength of Japan in the East, on which one can differ with the author, and that is on the matter of the Chinese. He writes of Japan overrunning China, and treats of it as if it will be the easiest thing in the world. He obviously knows little of China as she is to-day, and of the deep and intense hatred there is of Japan and all things Japanese. Whatever country was at war with Japan would have as its ally China, and China to-day is not so weak as some people would have us think, and Japan would experience a resistance from China which in many ways would astonish her, and if this resistance were sufficiently upheld by the West, Japan would find herself cut off from the great mineral and other supplies of China on which she is depending, and which are necessary to her if she would wage a successful war in the Pacific.

There are too many books written on the Far East and Far Eastern problems nowadays but in "*The Problem of the Pacific*" we have a most valuable contribution which is worthy of the attention of all students of Far Eastern politics.

RUSSIA IN THE FAR EAST By Leo Pasvol'sky (New York *The Macmillan Company*) 8s net

(Reviewed by T. BOWEN PARKINGTON)

"Russia in the Far East" is the work of a Russian publicist now resident in America and is quite a valuable contribution to the literature dealing with imperialistic Russia in Asia. It deals with the Russia that was, with the Russia that is, and the Russia that is to be. In dealing with the Russia that was, he gives quite an interesting account of the infiltration of Russia into Asia in the early centuries.

By far the most valuable part of the book—in fact, the only part which can be said to be of value—is that which deals with the Russia that is and its relations with Asia, and this he treats of under the title of "*The Third International in Asia*", and this is of special interest to Great Britain by virtue of her great interest in Asia, and the fact that the Third International seems to be concentrating its activities against that country, and have expressed their policy in the words 'We are ready to support any revolutionary struggle against Great Britain'.

It is interesting to note from the book the attitude of Japan and her Government to the Bolshevik movement in Asia—an attitude of resistance and of non-tolerance.

One cannot agree with the writer when he writes of the Chinese that "the vast bulk of her (China's) population is agitated by various kinds of resentment, swept by different kinds of discontent," thereby making China a country as far as the tactics and methods of communism are concerned "ideal."

"The vast bulk of her population consist of the coolies and merchant. In Peking and Canton, politicians and parasites may be thinking of place, self, and power, and be prepared to use communistic methods and tactics as a means to this end, but the merchant is thinking of his markets, the quicksilver movements of the tael and its master, the gold dollar, and

the coolie is thieving of his rice. They ("the vast bulk of her population") have neither time nor taste for the politics of the Chinese militarists—the Bolsheviks of China—a corrupt lot, who are seeking to retard the progress of the country to suit their own ends. Political comings and goings leave the Chinese masses unmoved. The merchant and the coolie have the foreigners on their backs, and the greedy Tuchuns—the militarists—on their necks. They pay, swear, and smile, and go on hoping for better times, and working.

Bolshevism has not found in China a fertile field for cultivation nor have the Chinese become ardent partisans of the Third International. China is a nation in the making. Her old machinery broke down. It was utterly out of date. It could not stand the pressure of contact with modern nations. New machinery has had to be put in, and that will take time and enterprise and energy. She does not possess time. Large bodies move slowly, and China is a whale of a nation in the making. Her very bulk is a temptation to the blubber hunters and the bone chasers of the Third International.

In dealing with the Russia that is to be the writer is theorizing pure and simple, and the facts of Russia as she is to-day in no way give us hopes that Russia's future course of action in Asia will in any way serve to have the stabilizing influence he anticipates she will have. Russia's influence in the East has been lost, Japan will see to it that it is never regained, and the nations of the West are hardly ever likely to entrust the stabilizing of the unstable Far East to such an unstable country as Russia is to-day. Of course, the book was written by a Russian, we appreciate his confidence in his country, but that confidence is scarcely justified in the light of present conditions.

LI, DUKE OF CH'IFU. A Chinese novel, translated into English, with the full Chinese text in Peking colloquial, by J. A. Jackson, Master at the Hanbury School, Shanghai.

(Reviewed by PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER)

Mr. Jackson has in various commercial capacities travelled over and seen as much of North China and Manchuria as any foreigner in the Far East. During the war he "personally conducted" several shiploads of coolies from Wei hai wei to France, and also escorted them back safely home. In these strenuous *post bellum* times it is to be feared that not many will have the time or inclination—apart from the capacity—to read a Chinese novelette, but in case there be such, the copy presented to the ASIATIC REVIEW is at the disposal of any competent applicant.

## ORIENTALIA

THE MUFADDALIYAT An Anthology of Ancient Arabian Odes, compiled by Al Mufaddal, son of Muhammad, according to the recension and with the commentary of Abu Muhammad al Qāsim ibn Muhammad al-Anbari. Edited for the first time by Charles James Lyall, M.A. (Clarendon Press, Oxford) 1918, 1921

THE DIWÂN OF GHAILAN IBN UQBAH, KNOWN AS DHU'R RUMMAH. Edited by C. H. H. Macartney (University Press, Cambridge) 1919

(Reviewed by SIR THOMAS ARNOLD, C.I.E.)

English scholarship holds a foremost place in the elucidation of early Arabic poetry. The first complete translation into any European language of the "Mu'allaqât," those seven pre-Islamic odes which the Arab philologists considered to be the most perfect examples of the poetic art, was published by Sir William Jones in 1783, at the same time he printed the first edition of the text for European readers, strangely enough choosing the Roman character for this purpose. Many scholars have worked upon these famous poems since that date, and another English Arabist, Sir Charles J. Lyall, who, like Sir William Jones, had occupied an important official position in Calcutta, published one of the finest editions of the text together with the commentary of Tibrizi, in 1891. Of the larger anthologies of early Arabic poetry, Freytag published his classical edition of the "Hamasa" in 1828, and a translation about twenty years later. No scholar was intrepid enough to undertake the third great anthology of this difficult poetry, the "Mufaddaliyât," until Thorbecke, in 1885, published a selection from these poems, but he died shortly afterwards, and the task was taken up by Sir Charles Lyall, who had succeeded in getting together more ample materials for a critical edition.

To the superb edition of the text, together with commentary and translation that have now been printed by the Clarendon Press, he devoted the last twenty years of his life, it will remain an abiding monument of the erudition of a great scholar, and is the culmination of the work of a life time, largely spent in the study of early Arabic poetry. Sir Charles Lyall brought to his task a rich knowledge of Arabic lexicography, and an intimate acquaintance with the pertinent period of Arabic literature, to which for several decades he had exclusively devoted his attention. He has left nothing for a future editor, as there is little likelihood of further material becoming available for additions to the ample biographical and lexicographical commentary he has compiled, but generations of scholars will use his work for investigations into the life and mental outlook of the Arabs. It is not philologists only who will find in this work a storehouse of knowledge, for Sir Charles Lyall's translation has made the contents of this collection accessible to that larger circle of students who are now endeavouring to understand the Arab mind. There is hardly any other race on the earth that for nearly thirteen centuries has changed so little in its psychology, the Arab of the desert is still remarkably like his ancestors, as they are revealed to us in the poetry of the pre-Islamic period and of the beginning of the

Muhammadan era. During the recent war the Arab has once again come into world history, and is likely to offer difficult problems for European statesmen and others to solve. In the translations which Sir Charles Lyall has provided in this and his other published writings there is a mass of authentic material, the interest of which is by no means merely antiquarian, but throws a clear light into the recesses of minds whose interests and modes of thought are far removed from most of their contemporaries in the modern world.

To Sir Charles Lyall's scholarship Mr Macartney has expressed his indebtedness in the preparation of his edition of the "Dihân" of Dhu'r Rummah. This great poet of the desert has hitherto found no editor in Europe, and Mr Macartney has placed all students of the Arabic language under an obligation by making them accessible in such a stately and finely printed form. As Mr. Macartney has not attempted a translation into English, his edition appeals only to advanced students of Arabic, to whom the poems of Dhu'r Rummah are of importance for Arabic lexicography, as well as for their vivid descriptions of desert life.

These two publications are noteworthy as having been planned before the outbreak of the war, and as having been brought to completion in spite of all the many difficulties that consequently beset the editors. As the Arabic text of the "Mufaddaliyat" was printed in Beyrout, the work of Sir Charles Lyall was interrupted by the entry of Turkey into the war, and he lost one whole batch of proofs in a vessel sunk by a German torpedo. But in neither instance could the publication of such monumental works, appealing, from the very nature of their contents, only to a restricted circle of readers, have been possible but for the generous patronage of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, which showed themselves in each instance willing to undertake the immense cost that the printing of Oriental type implies. Such works, of a limited circulation, can, as a rule, only be printed by learned corporations having at their disposal special funds for the issue of publications, and a University Press, undertaking to publish books the sale of which must necessarily be very slow, and possibly wholly unremunerative, deserves the gratitude of every scholar whose studies are thereby facilitated.

#### SHORTER NOTICES

TALES OF OLD SIND. By G. A. Kincaid, C.V.O., I.C.S. (*Oxford University Press*) 12s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by G. H.)

Folk-tales are the embodiment of a country's personality, and there is nothing in the world as difficult as to transmit a personality without the warm living medium of its owner. Mr Kincaid, however, has managed to do this. His "Tales of Old Sind" reproduce perfectly the Indian atmosphere of the Indian temperament, in spite of the unsympathetic medium of a Western language. Here is no case of "immolation on the altar of local colour," that last resort of the incompetent translator.

Readers are not bored by the insertion of large fragments of the original, after the manner of many who write stories dealing with Indian life.

Indian idiom here is not expressed by the strained and over-romantic English which has come to be considered the trade mark of a genuine Eastern story. Obviously Mr Kincaid knows the native tongue perfectly, the tales in his hands have kept their dignity and gained no additional floweriness. He translates Eastern idiom by Western idiom, making the whole intelligible to the Western mind. The West loves to think the East subtle and complex, but Mr Kincaid has shown that the East is fundamentally as simple and straightforward as the West.

The fatalism shown in all these stories is a sign of simplicity and of an unquestioning mind. A child would enjoy reading this book, though only a trained mind would appreciate the wonderful technique shown in the translation.

Mr Kincaid has done a great service to those who study the universal kinship of all languages by means of their folk-lore. Students of the Gaelic fairy-tales will find the illusions in the story of Momul and Rano particularly interesting, while those who prefer our own Teutonic folk-lore will find many symbolic resemblances in these folk-tales of Sind.

Altogether the book is decidedly interesting and attractive, both to young and old. Miss Shuttleworth's illustrations, though perhaps too graceful for correct representation of the East, are not the least pleasing part of the book.

CO-OPERATION AND THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT (Calcutta  
"Capital.") 6 annas.

(Reviewed by ARNOLD LUPTON)

It is a sign of the times that the Calcutta University has established the "poverty problem study." Certainly poverty ought to be abolished—at least, so far as it is not the fault of the individual who suffers from it.

I am delighted with references to children, as set out in the third paragraph of p. 16 "right food, pure air, and work and amusement, etc." Also with the statement on p. 17. "long hours in the classrooms represents just about what ought not to be done."

Of course, co-operation is what everybody who thinks at all about civilized life thinks is essential to our well-being, and I am delighted that the writer would set children and adults on to growing vegetables, etc. It is simply appalling to think that this country is now maintaining in idleness a million people, when they might be growing food, and so bring down the prices of the necessities of life, whilst at the same time the obligation to work for their pay would cause a large number of the unemployed to accept employment from the ordinary employers in the ordinary way.

Of course, there are a great many statements in the book which I think have never been proved, and cannot be proved. As, for instance, that labour can now produce, with the aid of machinery, five times as much as it produced in former days. It is quite true that the steam navy will do



the work of a great many men, but when one considers the number of men employed to make a steam navy, to maintain it in good condition, and supply it with fuel, a careful calculation will show that, whilst the use of the steam navy is in many cases economical, in many other cases it is not. A simple illustration of this is given in regard to the supply of coal to steam vessels when calling at a port. It is found that at many seaports the cheapest way of loading the ship with coal is for men and women to run up a plank carrying baskets of coal, which they tip into the ship, just as might have been done 500 years ago. In the same way, the steam plough is not always profitable.

At the bottom of p. 37 and top of p. 38 he refers to the "utilization of the labour of children," and, again, on p. 38, he refers to the beneficent results "of organizing school-children in a co operative productive organization." It is evident that this cannot be done until the laws forbidding child labour and enforcing compulsory attendance at schools are repealed.

On p. 41 he speaks of the "hopeless expression on the face of the common crowd." I have not observed that hopeless expression; quite the other way. For the last forty years I have studied the common crowd in England, and it seems to me happy and happy-go-lucky.

I heartily approve of the sentence on p. 51 "allow all to work as many hours a day as they want." We must abolish the very silly and very wicked legal restrictions on the hours of work.

There is, however, an extraordinary paragraph on p. 54, which seems to indicate a lack of comprehension that the first essential of progress is liberty. The paragraph is "The most hopeful thing, therefore, of our time is that by following the school years by a period of industrial conscription," etc. It would seem that the writer would continue compulsory school years, and then have industrial conscription. That, I venture to say, is not the way to secure co operation. Co operation, to be effective, must be free and willing, and all Government interference with the work and education of the people must be abolished. Then let men of brains and energy preach and teach to free people how to improve their condition.

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## ANNOUNCEMENTS OF NEW BOOKS

OMAR KHAYYAM AND HIS AGE By Otto Rothfeld, B.A. (Oxon), I.C.S., F.R.G.S. (*Taraporevala*)

D. B. Taraporevala, Sons and Co. will shortly publish the above book. It is emphatically one that opens out new ground. Its purpose is not merely an appreciation of Omar Khayyam—the real Omar taken as a whole, not as seen partially through the glasses of Fitzgerald—but further places the poet in his proper relation to the historic and spiritual development of Islam. The book falls into two parts—an account of the history of the Central Asian Empire and of the influence of Persian thought, with its Greek and Indian currents of philosophy, on Muhammadan culture; and, secondly, an analysis of the spirit of Omar's poetry as exemplifying the results of those influences. Until now any student desirous of acquainting

himself with the development of Islam under Persian guidance would have had to conduct laborious research through a dozen separate monographs on different aspects of the subject. Mr. Rothfeld has embodied the results of such research in one eminently readable volume. Mr. Rothfeld's competence to deal with the subject is vouched for by his eminence as a Persian scholar, which led to his selection by the Government of India to edit the text of the "Waqaya of Naamat Khan I-Ah, one of the most difficult books in the Persian language. The success of his former writings is a guarantee of his literary power. "Omar Khayyam and his Age" will prove to be a book as attractive by its style and construction to the general reader as it will be valuable to the student by its scholarship.

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**THE FERNS OF BOMBAY** By E. Blatter, S.J., PH.D., F.L.S., Professor of Botany, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, and J. F. d'Almeida, B.A., B.Sc. (Hons.), Professor of Botany, St. Xavier's College, Bombay. Two coloured and 15 black and white plates and 43 text figures. Crown 8vo. Bound in full cloth. (*Taraporevala*) Rs. 7 8.

D. B. Taraporevala, Sons and Co., Bombay, will publish the above book shortly. The book is the first of its kind on ferns of the Bombay Presidency. The authors have spent much labour in collecting the various species. The book gives a detailed and comprehensive description, not only of those found in their wild state, but also of those to be found in all ferneries. The numerous illustrations are a great help to the study of these delicate plants, and a collector can get at the different species practically at a glance by their aid.

All technical terms are explained in simple language in the introductory chapter, thus making the fullest knowledge accessible without the necessity of any previous acquaintance with the subject. This makes the book useful, therefore, to the amateur, as much as it is of value to the advanced student.

A new and special feature of the book is the key preceding the detailed description of each species, which sets out very clearly, yet concisely, the distinguishing characteristics of each species.

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**FOOTPRINTS IN SPAIN.** By Lieut.-Colonel H. A. Newell, F.R.G.S., author of "Topee and Turban," etc. With numerous illustrations. (London: *Methuen*). Price 10s. 6d.

Special interest attaches to a book on Spain from the pen of an author who has hitherto written exclusively upon India. Familiarity with the East and Muhammadan architectural ideals is of distinct value in treating of a land so long subject to Mussalman rule as Spain. The culture of the Crescent, as distinct from that of the Cross, has left its impress upon more than mere bricks and stone. The Spain of to-day is the product of both these warring influences, with occasional throwbacks to a remoter ancestry. In his description of the Alhambra, the world famous palace of the last Moorish kings of Granada, the author draws an analogy between it and the palaces of the Mogul emperors of India. He makes similar interesting

observations when commenting upon the Mezquita at Cordova. His book is bright and varied. In it modern anecdotes mingle with ancient legends, while his word pictures, notably that of Poblet, the superb Cistercian monastery and mausoleum of the kings of Aragon, are singularly romantic and vivid. On the whole, Colonel Newell views Spain from a different angle to the ordinary writer. It might almost be said that he regards it through Eastern rather than Western eyes

#### A NEW PERIODICAL

"THE SLAVONIC REVIEW" A survey of the Slavonic peoples, their history, etc Editors Sir Bernard Pares, Professor R. W. Seton-Watson, and Dr Harold Williams (School of Slavonic Studies, King's College)

(Noticed by FRANCIS P. MARCHANT)

We are glad to hail this new venture, the aim of which is to promote mutual understanding of Russia and kindred nations, and to serve as an organ of those who have Slavonic sympathies and interests, and desire to promote good relations between the English speaking and Slavonic worlds. To this end it enlists the services of British and American Slav scholars and representative Slavs. The members of the Advisory Committee and Staff Committee at King's College include most of the leading University teachers in the country, with Sir B. Pares as Administrative Director.

Following notes of guidance for students and a transliteration scheme, drawn up by the conference of University teachers—to which, however, Dr. Seton Watson demurs—the opening article on "The Slavs after the War" is from the pen of Professor T. G. Masaryk, denouncer of dubious Austrian pre war procedure, lecturer at London University during the war, then organizer of Czech legions in Russia, and ultimately President of the new Republic of Czecho Slovakia, where he bears the popular title bestowed on the Emperor Charles IV and the historian Palacky, *Etce Vlasti* (Father of the Country). He shows that to none had the war brought greater political changes than to the Slav nations, and that it is quite impossible to call it, as some do, a war of Teutons and Slavs. Beginning with Czecho-Slovakia, he reviews these changes, passing to Russia and Bolshevism. "The Bolshevik is the Russian monk, excited and confused by Feuerbach's materialism and atheism." In conclusion, President Masaryk draws attention to the ideal of a league of nations dreamed of by his countryman, King George of Podebrad. Professor P. Struve, the eminent economist, whose contribution is headed by prophetic quotations from De Maistre and Lermontov, reviews the crisis in Russia and her special "mission" from the point of view of historical sociology. The greatest living exponent of the Slavs, Professor V. E. Jagić—of whom the present writer has happy recollections—contributes a review of Slavonic studies from the days of the Czech philologist, Dobrovsky. Beyond reference to the *Archiv für Slavische Philologie—quorum pars magna fuit*—the author modestly omits his life work, and we note that the records of Professor Louis Leger, of

Paris, and his predecessors, Mickiewicz and Chodzko, are not touched. Sir B. Pares discusses British interest in Russia and the prospects of the Slavonic school, the inception of which is due to the lamented Principal R. M. Burrows.

To our regret, we can only mention in passing Mr M. Beza's comparison of Percy's "Reliques" and Sir W. Scott's minstrelsy with Roumanian ballads, Mr S. Bulgakov's dialogues on the Russian Revolution, Mrs J. S. Copeland's translation of Count I. Vojnovic's "Dying Republic," Dubrovnik (Ragusa), and the obituaries of A. Blok and N. S. Gumilev (Russian poets), Hviezdoslav (Slovak poet and patriot), I. Vazov (Bulgarian novelist), and J. D. Bourcier, a great friend of the Balkans. There are extensive economic notes and reviews and a Czech-Slovak bibliography.

### THE BOOK OF THE DAY

INDIA IN THE BALANCE. By Khwaja Kamal-ud-din, B.A., LL.B. (Working *The Islamic Review*). Price 6s. net.

(Reviewed by JOHN POLLEN, C.I.F., II.D.)

This book is most opportune. The writer is a loyal British subject, with an innate sense of the justice, honesty, and fair play of the British people.

The writer insists that the Founder of Christianity is given the same reverence by Muslims as the Prophet himself, and admits that the British rule has not sought in any way to force itself on the religion or the customs of the country. But he says that the spirit of India is changed, and now India is wondering! It is wondering whether Britain is not now really aiming at the suppression of the Crescent. It seems to us that India may rest assured England has no such desire or intention, and where Islam is right England and the British people intend to stand by it to the death. *There can be no doubt that Turkey, politically, made a great mistake in turning upon her ancient friend England, and siding with Prussia in stabbing the Allies in the back, and who can deny that for this dastardly act she deserved to be punished?* But it is idle to maintain that in punishing Turkey a blow was, or is, aimed at Islam, such an assertion is simply not true.

But, as Sir Hamilton Grant insists, there must be no hectoring, no bullying, no wanton discourtesy. These are not only cowardly and disgraceful, but they render goodwill impossible. There should be a resolute and an immediate mending of manners all round on both sides. At the same time there must be no concession to incendiarism, or to designing and evil-minded agitators, and no blatant pandering to political schemers. In a word, there must be no frightfulness, but, on the contrary, genial kindness in thought and word and deed.

About the Caliphate—the matter is one altogether for Muslims themselves, and there should be no Christian interference of any kind whatever. The Caliphate should be immune. A word from the Muslim Caliph to his Indian co-religionists would produce a wonderful result, and this result the British Government should lay itself out to obtain.

## EDUCATIONAL SECTION

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THE Bureau of Education in India has issued a Report for the year 1920-21 of extraordinary interest in view of the working of the Reform Scheme, and serves the purpose of an introduction to the Review to be published next year covering the quinquennium 1917-22.

The Report gives a rapid survey of the whole ground, describing the effect of the "Non-Co-operation Movement" upon the number of students in colleges and anglo-vernacular schools. Some provinces naturally lost more than others, and in the case of Calcutta and the province the number of students had fallen considerably just when the figures were being collected. The "National Schools and Colleges" lately come into existence do not give any returns to Government. There were other institutions independent of Government before these came into existence, and the aim of the "National" institutions is more political than educational. The "Non-Co-operation Movement" appealed to students of various types of mind, and it is curious that "there are no signs of reaction against Western subjects, languages, and ideas." One good result of the National Movement is that Indians are beginning to think out for themselves the sort of education best suited for Indian requirements, and there has been "no reduction of any educational grants by the reformed Councils." The Report touches on Women's Education—in the secondary schools, Bombay, the number of students has risen to 10,000, and almost the same number has been reached in primary schools; in the Medical College, Bombay, there are sixty-three ladies—on Muhammadan Education in Madras, on the Depressed Classes Education, Training of Teachers, the Scout Movement, Physical Training and Hygiene, Adult Education, and Defectives' (Blind and Deaf Mute) Education, the latter being exhaustively studied by a Bombay Committee. In Bombay, again, there is the Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy school of art, and visual instruction by means of lantern and cinematograph has received special attention there.

## WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

Professor Baltreley, of the Indian Educational Service, has compiled an account of the history of adult education in England and Wales, for Indian readers. This pamphlet also contains information concerning the Workers' Educational Association, and the influence of the universities on adult education in Scotland, Wales, British Dominions, U.S.A., and on the Continent of Europe. Adult education in England and Wales dates from 1800, and the second period from 1850. Mr. Albert Mansbridge, founder of the W.E.A., was also its Secretary from 1903 to 1915, and is now Chairman of the World Association for Adult Education. The last chapter is on the possibility of University Extra-mural Adult Teaching in India. The W.E.A. rises far above merely political propaganda, in that it enables adults to base their political opinions on well-thought-out problems, and this applies also to questions relating to labour, trades-unions, and other social problems. It is most important to adapt the W.E.A. to present conditions in India, and to infuse the students of the universities and colleges with the desire to elevate the depressed classes and the adults of other castes who have not had the opportunity of attending primary schools in their youth. It is also very important that the finances of the Indian W.E.A. should be entirely contributed by the people themselves. Whether a system of scholarships could be voted in the future by the Legislative Councils is another matter. These might be useful in enabling promising W.E.A. students to enter a university or college, or even to proceed to Europe for the purposes of research work. The scope of such a movement in India is enormous, and its usefulness unlimited, and it would supply just the incentive needed, on the part of the future teachers, to perfect their own knowledge, thereby avoiding cramming, and to ensure thorough accuracy in their dealing with historical facts and dates.

## EXHIBITION SECTION

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### EXHIBITION OF INDIAN ARTS AND CRAFTS\*

BY M. L. CHANDRA, B.A., CURATOR

WITH the object of bringing more prominently to notice, in quarters likely to be interested, and of directly furthering the sale of the products of the higher Indian arts and crafts to the trade, Sir William Meyer, the High Commissioner for India, with the concurrence of the Government of India, decided to set apart for this object certain rooms on the ground and the first floors of 44, Grosvenor Gardens, which forms part of his office in London.

The furniture, flooring, and panelling of the rooms on the ground floor—*i.e.*, the reading-room and the reference library—are of characteristic Indian woods. Brief references have already been made by several of the London newspapers as to the decorative effect of these beautiful Indian timbers.

On the floor above are displayed specimens of Indian art ware and village crafts. These occupy two rooms which, divided by folding doors, are convertible into a single hall of not inconsiderable dimensions, and which, though primarily intended to house selected permanent exhibits, will provide space, when required, for special shows of particular classes of Indian products which it may be decided from time to time to hold. Here again the parquet flooring is entirely carried out in Indian silver grey wood. The scheme of mural decorations in these rooms, which will be completed, it is hoped, before the end of this year, will be composed of Indian printed satin in panels, the front salon being decorated in the United Provinces, and the other in the Punjab style, these being provinces which have specialized in this type of work. The exhibits themselves,

\* At 44, Grosvenor Gardens, London.

drawn from the various provinces of India which desire to participate in the exhibition, are on view in show cases specially made of the same Indian wood as the parquet floor on which they stand. In view of the restricted space available, however, only picked specimens are being shown, bulky exhibits particularly having been unavoidably excluded.

For the present only three provinces are participating in the exhibition—viz., Burma, the United Provinces, and the Punjab. The Victoria Institute of Madras has decided to exhibit specimens of the industries of that Presidency, but these have not yet arrived.

The Burma exhibits include textiles such as cotton rugs and various coloured Shan bags with gold or silver thread, hand-painted waterproof umbrellas, gold and Pagan lacquer ware, ivory ware, bronze statuettes, bell-metal or brass and gilt lacquered gongs, as used in Buddhist temples, carved and lacquered woodwork expressed in tables and trays, and beautiful silver ware. Burma's toy industry is represented by a few coloured wooden-jointed animals and birds.

The bulk of the exhibits from the United Provinces has yet to come. There are a few Saharanpur four-fold carved screens and brass inlaid picture frames, specimens of Nagina ebony electric light standards, Moradabad and Bidar brass wares. There is, however, a good stock of silks and satins, including Benares Kashi silk, gold and silver brocades, Shahjehanpur silk and moiré silk, Benares silk, gold and silver embroidered scarves or fascinators, Lucknow printed satin bedsteads, Azamgarh plain and printed satins, etc.

The Punjab exhibits are more numerous and form an interesting collection. Punjab is rich in industrial arts. Of woodwork, wood-inlay in ivory, bone, brass, and copper, painted and chased lacquer work, there are very interesting exhibits in the shape of boxes, trays, cakestands, picture frames, candle and electric standards, powder and potpourri bowls, cigar and cigarette boxes. The noted Damascene



or "koftgari" work is to be seen in domestic articles, such as paper-knives, cigar and cigarette boxes, ashtrays, buckles and bracelets, photo frames, matchbox covers and salvers. From Multan have come a few specimens of her art of enamelling, mainly on silver ware. Of textile fabrics, so far only a few specimens have arrived, comprising cotton printed bedspreads. Block printing such as here shown, however, is also carried out on satin. Of woollen fabrics there are some beautiful *pashmina* shawls from Ludhiana, both plain and richly embroidered. The specimen carpets on show at the Exhibition Rooms come from Amritsar, world-famed for exquisiteness of work and design.

Apart from India, to which the lac industry itself is confined, there are two great centres of lacquering—viz., Japan and Burma. Lac turnery may, therefore, be viewed as a special feature of Burmese and Indian art. The chief material used in Burmese lacquer work is the oleoresin. This is either employed in its liquid state as a varnish or thickened by ashes or sawdust to a plastic condition and then used for moulding or as a cement for mosaics. It is coloured with lampblack, gold or silver leaf, vermilion, indigo, etc., and applied with brush or hand. This composition is also utilized to render paper or cloth waterproof, as, for example, in the manufacture of the very characteristic and artistic Burmese umbrellas. The best examples of Burmese lacquer ware are the gold lacquered boxes and baskets of Prome and Mandalay. The industry, which was once important locally only, has in recent years expanded considerably.

In the Punjab a considerable trade is done, principally in Lahore, Shahpur, Ferozepore, and Hoshiarpur, in the manufacture of wooden objects coated with coloured lac with most artistic effects. Etched lac work with floral or geometric designs is also carried out in such remote North-Western Frontier places as Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan.

The artistic Burmese umbrella owes its introduction, so

we are informed by Maung Ba Htin, Circle Officer, Irrawady Division, Department of Industries, Bassein, to an enterprising young Burmese of Bassein, who sixty years ago founded the now flourishing industry, which at one time was confined to one village. Bamboo-sticks rubbed with a solution of red dye and sap from the wild fig-trees, with floral designs traced on them with a jet from a spirit-lamp, make the handles. These are then fitted on to the bamboo framework, which is covered with dyed cotton or silk cloth. The dyeing is done by hand, and various coloured designs are then painted on with very pleasing effect. There is one very attractive umbrella in the exhibition-room which visitors should not neglect to see. It has a span of eight feet, and the cover is gorgeously painted.

India is very largely dependent on foreign countries for its supply of ivory, Africa being the source of her main supply. African ivory is closer in grain, and not so liable to turn yellow or to warp and split as the Indian ivory. All the finer and more expensive ivory carvings are done on the best African ivory, which is invariably a bluish-white article, the Indian exhibiting a dull chalky appearance. In India there are four localities noted for ivory carving—viz., Delhi, Murshidabad in Bengal, Mysore and Travancore in the south. Within the last forty years the industry has been largely developed at Hoshiarpur, where the art of ivory inlaying is applied, not only to the decoration of small articles, but to furniture generally. The modern work has absorbed all the old styles, such as Patiala, Mughal, and Sikh, and become mainly Hindu, though we have no proof absolute of the patronage of Hindu rulers in this direction. There is, however, no special caste identified with the craft. It is remarkable though that the chief artistic workers at the present day are Hindus.

There would not appear to be an extensive trade done in ivory carving in Burma. Burmese ivory carving seems to have been derived from India. Moulmein is the centre

of the industry, and the articles chiefly produced are such things as daggers and dah-handles, paper-cutters, chessmen, chairs, images of Buddha, medallions, cigarette-holders, statuettes depicting Burmese life.

With the disappearance of the fashion of wearing armour, damascening, on the decline of the Sikh power, diverted itself from ornamenting swords and other martial weapons, to the embellishing of domestic articles. The words "damascening" and "encrustation" indicate degrees of the same art, rather than distinct arts. They both denote the surface ornamentation of one metal through the application of one or more metals—*e.g.*, the inlay of gold and silver wires upon steel or iron. The latter is called "koftgari," or damascening proper. In true damascening the design is traced on the steel surfaces, and the wire is hammered in until it is made literally to unite with the steel. Encrusted wares may be said to form two main classes, according as the applied metal is raised above or left below the surface. The art of damascening no doubt came from Persia, as the word "koftgari" indicates, and is practised in several places in the Punjab, notably Sialkot, Gujrat, and Lahore. The wares are turned out in very large quantities from these centres, and find a ready market all over the world. There are several beautiful examples depicting this art in the Exhibition Rooms at 44, Grosvenor Gardens.

Of brass-ware, of which there are at present only a few specimens on exhibition, though more are expected shortly, much can be written. But it would be beyond the scope of this short article to deal with the purely industrial aspects of the brass-smith's craft. The Indian craftsmen show a large capacity in the utilization of both brass and copper and their alloys. The exhibits on view here are representative of the craft of Moradabad and Benares. The tourist in the East is familiar with the sight of stupendous images of Buddha (Burma), cast in brass by a small band of workers, using appliances which, judged by European

standards, would seem absolutely inadequate. In many parts of India again, as in Benares, images of Krishna and Ganesh, and various other idols, are moulded and sold for a few pice which, in Europe and America, could not be bought or produced for as many shillings. Between these extremes, in magnitude and intricacy, lies the range of domestic and sacred utensils, for the production of which every village possesses its own craftsmen. The ordinary domestic utensils, which are invariably of either copper or brass, instead of china, etc., as in Europe, are not ornamented, because by Hindu ordinance they require to be scoured with mud after being used, but their shapes are extremely graceful, and often their finish and style are different in different localities.

It will not be out of place to add a few words in respect of the beautiful Amritsar-made carpets on show here, reference to which has already been made. Like a great many more of the arts of India, the art of carpet-making came from Persia. The centres of carpet-making in Northern India are Amritsar, Lahore, Multan, and Hoshiarpur. Pashmina wool—that is, wool from the Himalayan goats—is used for the finest descriptions of pile carpets, and the work is all done by hand. There are certain characteristic designs met with here and there in the Indian-made carpet which have greatly tended to bring about the peculiarities that allow of Indian carpets being readily recognized from those of other countries. The man in the street has an idea that all carpets which come from India are the product of Indian gaols, and, as such, it exercises a debasing influence on the artistic industry. *De facto* this is not so. Gaol labour has stimulated the industry.

The specimens of silver enamelling on show all come from Multan. The work is of rich barbaric nature, decorative in design and colour. Multan has for many years enjoyed the reputation of producing small silver enamels in various shades of opaque blue, yellow, or scarlet. Similar

work is also carried on in Lahore and Delhi. Jaipur is pre-eminently the central and best school of enamelling, but of late years the most skilful artificers have migrated to Delhi. The articles on exhibit are buttons for waistcoats, buckles and belts, umbrella-handles for ladies, etc.

The Punjab has also sent one or two specimens of woodwork, and wood inlay as turned out in Hoshiarpur. The Punjabi is noted for his artistic taste, which is almost an inheritance with many carpenters. It is believed that Indian wood-work manifests a much greater diversity and many more points of interest than any other arts and crafts of that country. The principal homes of wood-carving in the Punjab are Lahore (School of Arts and Crafts), Hoshiarpur, Chiniot, Amritsar, Jullundur, Gujrat, and Ludhiana. It is impossible to convey a conception of even the leading characteristics of the styles of wood-carving and wood-inlay in this as well as in other provinces. The specimens displayed here are a four-fold screen, tea and coffee trays, etc., inlaid with brass, copper, and ivory.

In conclusion, the writer hopes that his endeavour at a description of the Exhibition, which, both as regards furnishing of the rooms and the articles displayed, has been necessarily brief, will stimulate the interest of the reader in *Indian arts and crafts*. Visitors (trade and casual) and inquirers will be personally attended to.

## THE CHANCE OF PEACE IN THE NEAR EAST

BY LELAND BUXTON

THE primary object of the Near and Middle East Association, whose recent Memorandum to the Prime Minister on the Turkish Question has been widely noticed in the Press, is to promote British interests. The greatest of British interests is a just and lasting peace, but such a peace has hitherto been impossible owing to the refusal of the British Government to recognize the claims of the Turkish people to self-determination and security. Moreover, the task of pacification by the Allies has been made doubly hard by the fact that the Prime Minister, in consequence of the violent partizanship of his speeches on the Græco-Turkish War, has lost the confidence and respect, not only of the Turks, but of most of the peoples of the Middle East. Yet even now it may not be too late to mitigate, at least, the disastrous effects of his Eastern policy during the last four years.

The Memorandum referred to above suggests certain conditions on which, it is believed, a permanent peace might still be established. With regard to the protection of minorities, it proposes the institution of local gendarmerie, to which would be attached foreign officers appointed by the League of Nations. It is, of course, essential that any such scheme, applied to Turkey, should apply equally to Greek territory, such as Southern Macedonia, where a Muslim population still exists. It would certainly not be accepted by the Turks on any other condition, nor, from the point of view of the minorities themselves, is it any less desirable in Greece than in Turkey. In fact, the majority of Macedonian Christians would to-day welcome even a restoration of Turkish rule as a means of escape from the persecution of their new masters. Even if it is admitted that the Turks have, in certain cases, deliberately resorted to a policy of extermination, it is an historical fact that the Greeks have got rid of *their* minorities with far greater rapidity. Those who share the Prime Minister's views about the Greeks may be recommended to study the Report of the Carnegie Commission on the Balkan Wars, and Professor Arnold Toynbee's recent book, "The Western Question in Turkey

and Greece." At the same time, it cannot be denied that the unfortunate Christians of Asia Minor, who are indirectly the victims of Allied intrigues and Greek megalomania, require protection after the events of the last few years, and it will be the clear duty of the Allies, in any settlement they may make with the Turks, to see that such protection is provided.

On territorial questions the British Government has at last been obliged to withdraw from the position it has hitherto taken up if the Near East is ever again to enjoy the blessings of a lasting peace. With regard to Smyrna, indeed, it agreed last spring to the restoration of Turkish sovereignty; but till September 23 it insisted on that geographical monstrosity, a Greek Adrianople. The Greek claim to Thrace cannot be supported on ethnical grounds, as the Greeks themselves tacitly admitted when they rejected the proposal for a Commission of Enquiry, which was put forward by the Allies and accepted by Bekir Sami Bey on behalf of Turkey. Still less can it be supported on economic grounds, Eastern Thrace being economically dependent on Constantinople and Western Thrace on Bulgaria. The recent Greek threat against Constantinople has made the Turks more determined than ever that Greece shall not be in a position to make a similar threat in the future. Finally, the Turks, and indeed the Moslem world generally, have a sentimental and religious interest in the Turkish city of Adrianople. For these reasons, among others, *there can be no lasting peace in the Balkans while Thrace is in Greek occupation.*

The Near and Middle East Association, therefore, supports the new Allied pledge that Eastern Thrace, including Adrianople, shall be restored to Turkey. It also proposes that Western Thrace should be constituted an autonomous State under the auspices of the League of Nations. This province, which, during the French occupation after the Armistice, enjoyed a brief period of happiness and tranquillity, is inhabited mainly by Turks and Bulgarians, but both Turkey and Bulgaria have wisely refrained from claiming it, and demand only that it should not be Greek. As a buffer State between Greece and Turkey, it would be a valuable guarantee of peace, and would further enable the Allies to fulfil their formal promise to Bulgaria of a commercial outlet on the *Ægean*. Everyone acquainted with Balkan conditions knows that, so long as the whole coast is in Greek occupation, the promised outlet is an impossibility; but the Bulgarians themselves admit that they could use

Dedeagatch freely if the port and its hinterland were under international or inter-Allied supervision.

There is reason to believe that the Angora Government would be willing to accept all reasonable guarantees for the freedom of the Straits, such as, for instance, the control of the Dardanelles by the League of Nations, of which Turkey would, of course, be a member. Once the territorial question is settled on the lines indicated above, the Turkish attitude on this and other questions at issue would naturally become more accommodating. We cannot expect it to be so under present conditions. If we can imagine our own state of mind during an occupation of Kent by foreigners, we shall not be surprised that the Turks are unconciliatory while Greek armies—believed to be supported by Great Britain—are in occupation of Thrace.

When the invaders have been forced to withdraw, and peaceful conditions have been restored, there will be a revival of commercial prosperity in Anatolia and Constantinople. It is to be hoped that British traders will regain their old predominance and enjoy the lion's share of that prosperity. If, however, the British Government continues to support the claims of Athens until compelled by circumstances to desist, the harvest of peace may be reaped by our commercial rivals, whose Governments have not earned the lasting hostility of the Turkish people.

Since the above was written, the situation has developed rapidly. The attitude of the Turks, owing largely to the provocative words and actions of the British Government, may well have become less moderate and conciliatory, and it may now be necessary to make greater concessions than would have sufficed, a fortnight ago, to secure an amicable settlement.

At the present moment the chief danger of war arises, unfortunately, from the fact that the Turks do not trust the word of Mr. Lloyd George. They believe that he is playing for time, and that when the Greek army has been reorganized in Thrace, he will provoke hostilities as a means of withdrawing the promise to restore the Maritza line to Turkey. Unless the Allies insist on the immediate evacuation of Thrace by the Greeks, the Turks feel that they cannot afford to wait, for, as *The Times* observes in its leading article to-day (September 27), "delay in following up a victory is rarely of advantage to the victor."



## BRITAIN'S TURKISH POLICY

BY W. E. D. ALLEN

IN no issue is the confusion of thought more evident and prejudice more dominant than in the discussion of the Eastern Question.

At the present juncture it is not inopportune to examine briefly the historical principles and motives and the general trend of British policy in the Near East, and to apply such conclusions as may be arrived at to the consideration of the present situation.

The costly Near Eastern campaign of the Great War was necessary to eradicate German influence, and with the signature of an Armistice by Turkey in October, 1918, conditions immediately though gradually began to revert to the old triangular rivalry of Britain, France, and Russia.

The history of the C.U.P. and the farce of parliamentary government in Turkey had confirmed British statesmen in the policy of nationalist devolution. The successive Turkish Governments were representative of no element in Turkey, and their power was founded on no other basis than violence and graft. Each Government supported itself internally by favouring and relying on one national element at the expense of the others, and abroad by cultivating the patronage of one or other of the Great Powers; thus France, Britain, Russia, and Germany were successively favoured. The speeches of Mr. Balfour and Mr. Lloyd George during the latter stages of the war, therefore, envisaged the complete dissolution of the Turkish Empire into its component national parts. There was conceived the separation from Turkey of all territories inhabited by majorities of Greeks, Armenians, and Arabs. But the development of such a policy after the Armistice transcended the means at the disposal of the victors. The plan of an independent Armenia and of a Hellenized Western Asia Minor was real and practicable had the Allies been united and in a position to enforce their decisions. British statesmen, however, miscalculated the political equation, and ignored the practical geographical difficulty, while they neglected the obstacle of an entirely contrary French policy, which discounted the humanitarian issue and sought to establish French political and com-

mercial hegemony in Asia Minor, and to include Turkey in the chain of States forming the anti-Bolshevik *cordon sanitaire*. The Greek landing at Smyrna and the Treaty of Sèvres were unwise because it was impractical to enforce a definite conclusion, while the support of the Pontine Greeks and the Armenians was tragic, because we made them our agents and were unable to give them the protection which former actions and statements had suggested would be conceded.

British policy floated in a mist of humanitarian and political visions, when it should have been guided solely by considerations of military expediency. The Greek offensive in Asia Minor was undertaken in spite of the authoritative advice of Sir Henry Wilson and Maréchal Foch, and without even the security of French and Italian co-operation.

The return of King Constantine—who on the authority of Admiral Mark Kerr had in 1916 been opposed on strategic ground to an invasion of Asia Minor—and the withdrawal of the Italian and French from Adalia and Adana, afforded an opportunity for the revision of our policy. Further, the military authorities at Constantinople who were most competent to form a well-considered opinion were known to be opposed to the principle of the Anatolian war, while the Government of India gave emphatic and sensational expression to their views.

Last March King Constantine personally expressed to the writer his acquiescence in an evacuation of Smyrna by the Greeks, conditional on Allied assumption of responsibility for the safety of the Christian population. But the Greek Government, for the preservation of their own prestige, obviously waited for the British Cabinet to take the initiative in the matter, and to give them the opportunity of appearing to surrender to the pressure of *force majeure*.

The situation was urgent: Lord Curzon, who was most competent to undertake a careful revision of British policy, was incapacitated by illness, while Mr. Lloyd George, in his speech at the end of last session, obviously had failed to appreciate the critical state of affairs, or to have given the matter any careful consideration.

At the present juncture it is most necessary to consider the advice of those comparatively obscure people, officials and experts, who have some knowledge and experience of the Near East, and to refrain from hasty measures dictated by ignorance or popular hysteria.

On the one hand, it is possible to exaggerate the strength of the Turks, whose victory has been the result of Greek

demoralization rather than of their military prowess ; on the other hand, it is easy to magnify the significance both of Muslim discontent with British policy and the force of Bolshevik influence at Angora.

The present attitude of Mustapha Kemal demonstrates that the Turks are willing to conclude peace, and are not anxious to undertake, under Bolshevik influence, any kind of Jihad.

As an Italian newspaper has observed, the Turks are incapable either of gratitude or vindictiveness, and they have no interest in prolonging the war and undertaking hostilities against Britain or France.

Ali Fethi Bey, the Kemalist Minister of the Interior—whose visit to London recently aroused some controversy—last winter made to the writer the observation “that Turkey had no interests really antagonistic to those of Britain and France. War against Britain, which was the logical implication of alliance with Germany against Russia, was regarded as a disaster.” Geographically Turkey is a Mediterranean Power, and economically all her interests lie with the sea Powers that control the Mediterranean. Her claim that Smyrna is vital to her as a port emphasizes her dependence on Mediterranean trade. Of hardly less importance as markets are Syria, controlled by the French, and Mesopotamia, controlled by the British. Turkey cannot find a market in an impoverished Persia nor in a ruined and famished Transcaucasia. Further, Turkey cannot obtain the financial and technical assistance of which she is in dire need, from Russia, who is herself a claimant on charity.

Politically Turkey has nothing to gain from hostility to the Entente. The Kemalists cannot re-enter Europe by force of arms, but they might enforce their claims by the invasion of Syria and Mesopotamia. But the Turks can obtain no real advantage from damaging or destroying the tender roots of Moslem-Arab nationalism. If they have any national interests beyond their own frontiers, they lie rather in Baku and the Eastern Caucasus, where possibly the most advanced and progressive section of the Turkish race has recently been reduced to poverty and anarchy.

Thus, on logical grounds of both economic and political expediency, the Turks must tend to an understanding with the Entente, and to development as a Mediterranean Power.

The Entente Powers have no interest in maintaining régimes of control and protection in the Near and Middle

East. The tendency is to reduce our responsibility and financial liability in Palestine and Mesopotamia, and our policy is to assist and encourage the construction of self-dependent States. Such a policy has been consistently followed during the last hundred years in the Balkans, and more recently in Central Europe, and has resulted in the formation of the Little Entente, a body which is both a security and a guarantee against German or Russian aggression. The process may occupy a longer period in the Middle East, but ultimately we should aim at a similar fruition—the growth of a group of self-dependent States, stretching from the Caucasus to the Red Sea. In such a development Turkey must be a vital factor, and in the event of a future war the Turkish Army would be the strongest defensive force in those regions. Our own interest is in the trade and not in the political control of small countries. Once established in their self-dependence, all the States of the Middle East, Caucasian, Arab, and Turkish, would have the strongest interest, as the Little Entente has, in the maintenance of the *status quo* and in opposition to any aggressive combinations.

The conclusion of peace is therefore in the immediate interests both of the Entente and of the Turks. The Turkish demands for the restoration of Constantinople and Thrace are not immoderate; it is noteworthy that Kemal has not increased his demands with his victory. Kemal further offers to agree to the commercial freedom of the Straits, and to accord to the national minorities rights to be enjoyed reciprocally by the Mussalmans of Macedonia.

Upon such a basis it should not be difficult to arrive at an agreement satisfactory to both sides. Greece, the defeated, is naturally the principal and, to a certain extent, the undeserved sufferer, and it remains to Britain and Italy to decide whether or not she shall receive compensation, which it is within their power to give, for losses the responsibility for which rests in part upon the Allies.

The most difficult issue will be the status of the Straits. In the Straits the Allies have the right to safeguard their interests, both commercial and military, and it would not be unreasonable to insist upon an Allied military control for at least a period of years, such period to be terminable at a future date, should the policy of Turkey in the interval give proof of good faith. The Allies could not ever permit the erection of defences in the Dardanelles. And under such conditions it would be necessary to insist upon the disarmament of the Greek Fleet. Constantinople, with a

good Thracian frontier, would not then be subject to attack from her Balkan Allies, while she would be subject to naval coercion from the greater sea Powers in no greater degree than are Lisbon, Copenhagen, or Athens.

The conclusion of a satisfactory and fair peace will require sacrifices, both moral and material, from all parties, from the belligerents and from some of the Entente Powers, but it is only by a spirit of compromise and goodwill that a catastrophe can be avoided, the sole beneficiaries from which would be those forces of anarchy who have before now shown themselves quick to take advantage of our ineptitude and our pusillanimity.

## NEAR EASTERN NOTES

By F. R. SCATCHERD

### I. THE NEW CRISIS IN THE NEAR EAST

SPEAKING at Nottingham on September 19, the ex-Minister for War, Major-General Seely, M.P., contended—

(a) That had the League of Nations possessed more power, the latest war would never have been started

(b) That the League must be made a reality by the Great Powers agreeing to accept its decrees.

(c) That this League of Peace must be equipped with the necessary police forces—*i.e.*, naval and air forces. The need for the moment, concluded General Seely, was the means to prevent this conflagration spreading, "and having subdued it, to prevent its breaking out afresh"

### II. SMYRNA

Meanwhile the populations of the Near East—Christian and Muslim, Greek, Armenian, and Turkish, men, women, and children—have been enduring all the horrors of racial and religious warfare. Fortunately adequate provision is being made for the half-million refugees, mostly women and children, from Smyrna. Medical and other stores have been sent from England, and the Red Cross Societies, British, American, and International, are actively combating remediable distress.

"A crime against humanity is being perpetrated in Asia Minor," M. Rizo Rangabé, the Greek Minister in London, declared to a representative of the *Pall Mall Gazette* in an interview published in that journal September 14, 1922. The same authority continued:

"Greece, for her part, has a clear conscience . . . and we are confident that history will appraise the tremendous efforts we have made at their full value, since the merit of nations is not commensurate with their area or resources, but depends on their willingness to consent to sacrifices in a righteous cause. . . . The essential facts of the Asia Minor position are little known in Western Europe. . . .

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# THE ASIATIC REVIEW

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After the Armistice all enemy countries were disarmed except Turkey, which was left with all her war material stored in dumps . . . All Peace Treaties were to be ratified and put into effect after their signature, yet the Treaty of Sèvres alone was never submitted to any Allied Parliament . . .

"Instead of securing for Greece Allied assistance, it denied her liberty of action . . . it gave the Kemalists time to organize, and imposed delays on Greece which gradually exhausted her resources

"The narrow strip of land which has been delimited along the Straits, even were it demilitarized and garrisoned by Allied troops, is obviously worthless unless the garrisons are able to reckon upon prompt assistance from the troops stationed in Thrace

"Were Turks to be stationed there, there would be no security. I make bold to assert that, backed by Bulgarian bands, the Turkish hosts would at a given signal sweep down on the guardians of the Straits and hurl them into the sea

"What is required, therefore, is Allied solidarity to keep Turkey—an Asiatic Power—in Asia, its proper home

"If France elects to stand by the Kemalists, the solidarity of Greece and Great Britain, the two States whose community of interest is gradually coming to be realized, should be sufficient for the task "

I first met M. Rizo Rangabe in Crete in 1910, and renewed acquaintance with him later on in London, when his moderation and good judgment impressed me most favourably

The "solidarity of Greece and Great Britain," referred to by M. Rangabé as gradually coming to be realized, forms the keynote to an interesting document I have had by me for some time, which for that reason I make no apology for giving it *in extenso* for the benefit of that future history to which the Greek Minister makes so confident an appeal.

### III THE MELVACE OF ANTI-BRITISH INFLUENCES

15, ST JOHN STREET, OXFORD,

June 9, 1918

DEAR SIR,

I avail myself of the opportunity created through the good offices of Mr. Nicolson to submit to your consideration certain conclusions at which I have arrived after long experience in contact with all classes of people in Greece

By pen and word, for the last three years, I have focussed my energies on the endeavour to counteract the German propaganda among the Greek labour classes, and on the eve of my departure from Athens last February I had a conversation with Mr. Venizelos on present prospects. I think I am allowed to say that his sentiments are echoed in what I will tell you, although there has been no expressed coincidence in the view which has crystallized in my mind since I returned to London

This view I partly expressed to Mr. Nicolson, and in a general way I am trying to convey it through the Press. Moreover, three Oxford friends of mine—Sir Herbert Warren, President of Magdalen, Dr. Heberden, Principal of Brasenose, and Dr. Jackson, formerly Rector of Exeter—to whom I confided my ideas, have expressed sympathy, and agreed with

me that responsible British statesmen should become cognizant of this standpoint as soon as possible

The present situation in the Near East seems to hinge round the fate of Greece, whose existence is menaced by German influence. It may be urged that at a time when our whole attention is concentrated on the Western front, the issues in the Near East may well be left aside. But the methods of Germany are not such as to allow diminution of attention to what she may be doing in Greece. Germany has been allowed to acquire a hold on the Greek national conscience. We have counteracted this influence, but it has not disappeared, and it has so overshadowed the inherent devotion of the Greek nation to the ideals of England and France as to render the awakening of Greece to the present realities a slow and difficult work.

My point is that it is of the utmost importance to England that Greece should be saved from falling under German domination. It is not only that Greece would be extinguished, but a Germanized Greece would be an insurmountable barrier to England in the Mediterranean. Have I any reasons to believe that Greece is in danger of falling under German domination? Germany's methods consist in offensives of various categories—war, peace, socialist, labour, economic, commercial, nationalist, etc., according to psychological opportunities. It is the nationalist offensive that Germany has been using in Greece for some time past in order to baffle England. The Greek dream—restoration of Hellenism to its natural frontiers—has afforded to Germany the psychological opportunity for the nationalist offensive. Nothing can sway the Greek soul so much as a chance for recovering the territories which during the centuries have been taken from the nation by its hereditary enemies. Every other consideration, or sentiment, or interest, is subordinate to that one supreme dream. Germany has succeeded in creating an impression that under German auspices the national aims of Greece may be fulfilled, and that under the auspices of England they may be frustrated. Under the influence of this impression, Greece may fall an easy prey into the hands of Germany. Can England afford to disregard this eventuality? Would it be tolerable to allow Greece to become a German dependency? Would it not be a blow against England as much as against Greece?

The defeat of Germany in the West will not entail her defeat also in the East. Defeated in the West, she may easily emerge victorious in the East unless we are prepared in time. Free from German influence, Greece at once becomes a barrier to German development in the East. Our preparation, therefore, is to free Greece from German influence without delay. How? There is only one way to do this. The moment Greece becomes assured that England recognizes the justice of the proposition that Hellenism must be restored to its natural frontiers, not excluding Constantinople, every vestige of German influence will instantly disappear from Greek life. Such an assurance, which need not preclude any scheme of internationalization of the Straits, would act like magic. The German delusion, and whatever is connected with it, however alive in the Greek

mentality now, would be straightway forgotten, and the nation in all its natural impetuosity and dash would turn to England, rediscovering in her its natural protector and ally. The immediate result would be something like the American awakening, and an army would rapidly arise of half a million men determined to win or to die.

To my mind, peace cannot be assured without this arrangement, which virtually amounts to a British Protectorate of the Balkan Peninsula, federated democratically with Hellenism as the dominant note

Believe me, yours faithfully,

PLATON E. DRAKOULES

THE RIGHT HON. A. J. BALFOUR,  
*Foreign Secretary*

This elicited the following reply from Mr. Balfour's secretary

"I am directed by Mr. Secretary Balfour to thank you for the letter which you were so good as to send him on the 9th instant relative to the means which should be adopted to counteract enemy influence in Greece

"I am to state that Mr. Balfour has been interested to receive the views of one who stands in so special a relation to the opinion of the Greek masses, and that your suggestions will be given careful consideration "

#### IV

The idea of an understanding between England and Greece as to the future of the Balkans has occupied the mind of Mr. Drakoules from his earliest years of political activity, not as a Greek, or an all but British citizen, for he was five or six years old when the Ionian Islands were ceded to Greece. He has frequently expressed the belief that British and Hellenic co-operation would make of the Balkan Peninsula a new world.

He was also one of the first of the Balkan statesmen to make serious efforts to include Turkey as a member of the *Balkan Federation*, and visited Constantinople twice in 1910 with that end in view—an aim so consonant with his democratic and humanitarian ideals.

In view of the special position occupied by Mr. Drakoules in the Labour Movement in Greece, the letter from him is still of interest and importance as showing the danger of anti-British influences in Greece even at that time. It is to be feared that these influences would receive encouragement if the present disorders are allowed to continue. It is to be hoped, therefore, that even now the Allies will not refuse to treat with consideration, at least, the more clear-cut and indisputable of Hellenic claims. Moreover, it is advisable to circumscribe the danger of a renewal of hostilities by imposing Armistice conditions alike on Greeks and Turks.

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BY

S. B. de BURGH-EDWARDES,  
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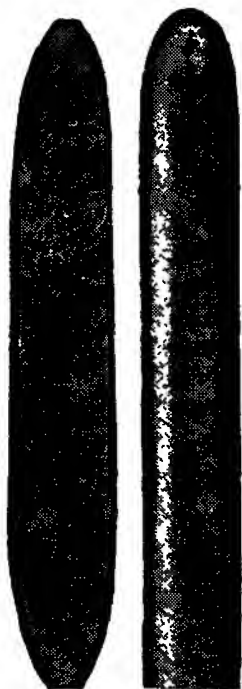
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